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P. 16. Shelley wrote the

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Book at Jack Lauder

House in Suffolk Square

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A
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From the earliest Period

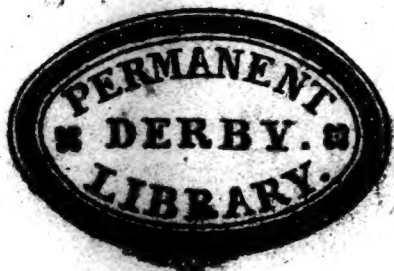
TO
THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

BY JOHN LAWLESS, Esq.

PROPRIETOR AND EDITOR OF THE IRISHMAN, PUBLISHED IN BELFAST.

*Historia est temporum testis, lux veritatis, magistra vitæ, vita memoriæ, et
nuncia antiquitatis.—CICERO.*

History is the witness of times past, the light of truth, the mistress of life, the
life of memory, and the herald of antiquity.



THIRD EDITION.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR EFFINGHAM WILSON,
ROYAL EXCHANGE.

1824.

2nd ed. of

See S. J. McCarthy

P. 10 Shelley wrote the

Graduate portion of the

Book at Joe H. Paulson

He was in support of Butler

Constitutional Convention

See Part 1 of S. J. McCarthy

See the following pages

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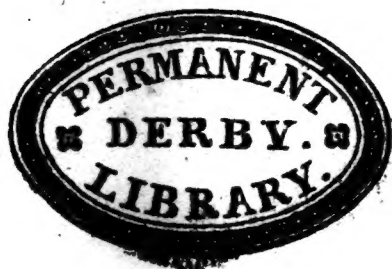
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TO

THE IRISH PEOPLE.

THE BOOK, which I now have the honour to present to my countrymen, has been written in the hope that it will contribute, in some degree, to the promotion of that liberal, enlightened and benevolent feeling, which has been making such rapid strides for the last thirty years of our history. If the author has been guilty of any exaggeration in description, or in commentary (which he has industriously struggled to avoid), let the Irishman reflect that his errors are on the side of the honour of his country ; that his feelings, if too warm, are heated by an anxious desire to vindicate the insulted character of a people who have been eternally the victims of calumny, the prey to every speculator on their fame and their glory, the devoted sa-

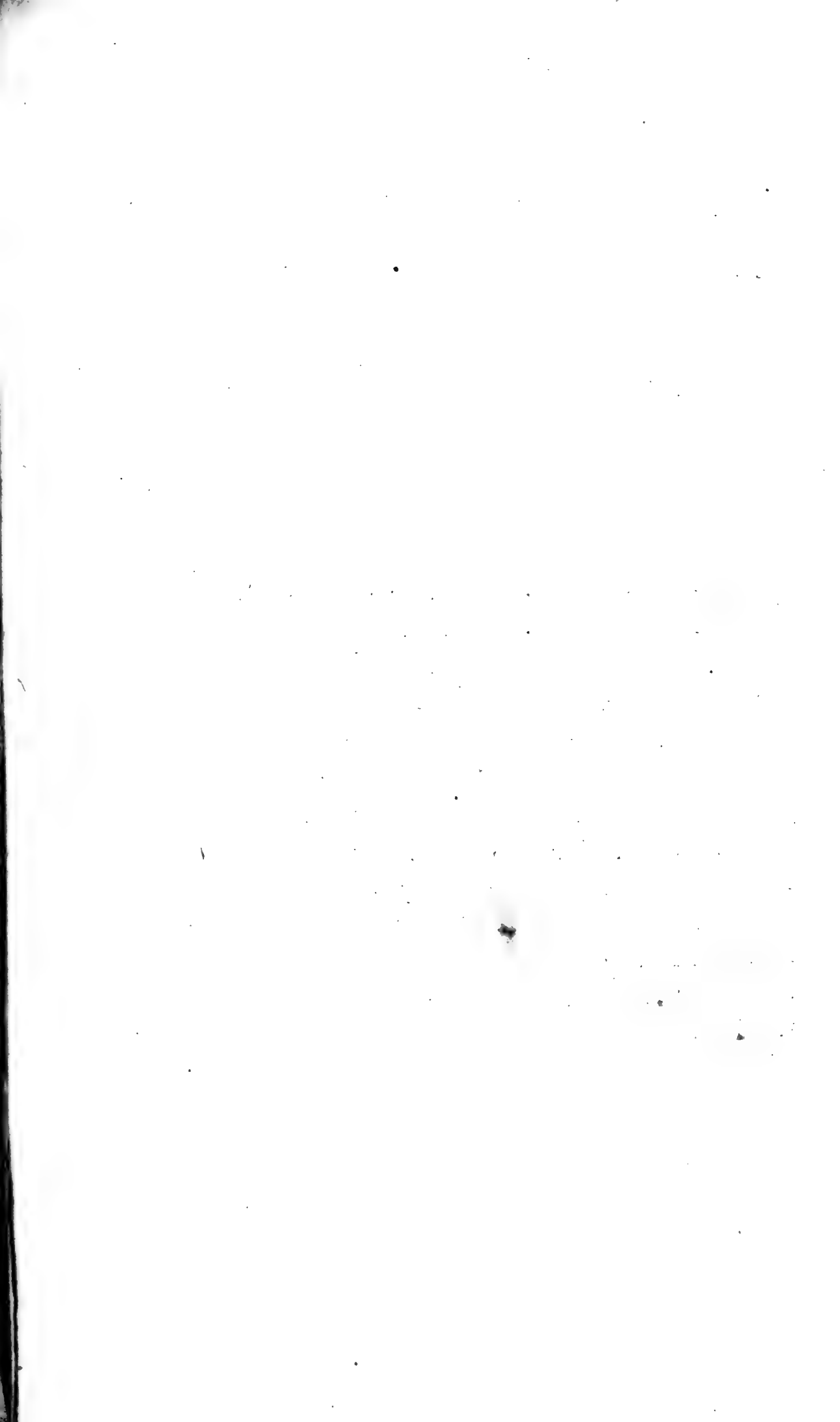
crifice to insatiable avarice, to dishonourable ambition, and a sanguinary foreign ascendancy.

It is hoped that the reader of every class and description, of every persuasion, and sect of Christianity, will observe through the pages of this volume of Irish history, that the leading object of its author was the inculcation of that grand and paramount principle of Christianity, which imperatively tells us to respect the religious feelings of every human being—to practise that toleration which each sect is perpetually demanding, and leave to God and to his creature the settlement of those points which are beyond all human control, and should ever command the veneration of the wise, the liberal, and the enlightened.

That the partizan of faction, or the partizan of the people—that the advocate of intolerance, as well as the advocate of equal and impartial privilege, will find much to censure, and perhaps little to praise, must be expected by him who pleads the cause of truth with firmness and impartiality.

The author has endeavoured to refute the libeller of Ireland, with temperance and deco-

rum. The composer of an abridgment of Irish history can lay but little claim to the merit of invention : his duty is to select with industry and with judgment ; to compare his authorities with caution, anxiety, and impartiality ; and to put into as small a space as possible the grand and leading features of his history. To such claims, the author will flatter himself he may, without the hazard of contradiction, put in his humble pretensions. If, on closing this volume, the heart of the reader shall sympathise with the sufferings of Ireland—if he be inclined to shed a single tear over the graves of those illustrious dead who combated, though unsuccessfully, for the liberty, the religion, and the fame of their country—if he be disposed to acknowledge that no country under heaven ever suffered so much from the crimes and the follies of its rulers, the author will congratulate Ireland on the effects of his labours, and will thankfully acknowledge his ample remuneration in the benefits which must flow to his countrymen from the dissemination of such feelings.



PREFACE.

IT is universally admitted by every friend to the religion, the liberties, and the welfare of Ireland, that nothing can contribute so much to their promotion, as the dissemination of that historical knowledge which informs the Irish people *what their country has been—what it now is—and by what means its future prosperity may be retarded or advanced.* The Irishman who is ignorant of the history of his country, can but little contribute to the councils of men whose opinions are regulated by the wisdom of their ancestors, and whose errors are corrected by the *accurate* knowledge of the mistakes of those who have gone before them. He who is a stranger to the history of Ireland, can draw no resources from the laborious lucubrations of talent, or the brilliant discoveries of genius, to which his country has given birth, and which time has swept into the grave. Such a man can receive no supplies from the treasury of antiquity. Centuries have rolled by, without advantage to him against whom the book of history has been closed: the author and his productions sink into the same tomb, unobserved and unthought of. For him the ancient magnificence of Ireland is in vain established by the successful researches of the antiquarian; and the wisdom of former ages lies mouldering in records, which perhaps he has had no opportunity of examining.

The principal object of the present work, is to give universal circulation to the leading and remarkable features of Irish history ;—to give those features with veracity—with conciseness—and at such a price as may render them accessible to the poor, though independent Irishman.

The early period of Irish history may perhaps be considered more interesting to the curious antiquarian than to the practical politician. The records of Keating, however flattering to the pride of an Irishman, will be found but little calculated to add to that stock of useful information, which our modern history so abundantly affords. The memory of his reader is oppressed by the labour of recollection ; and the efforts of the historian to establish the authenticity of Irish fame, and the superior claim of Irish genealogy, too frequently entangle the understanding of the reader in unprofitable researches, visionary inquiries, and idle conjectures. The present compendium takes a rapid view of those days of greatness, of which the Irish bards have sung with rapturous enthusiasm: it then passes to the second Henry of England, and carries the records of the principal and most leading events down to the reign of George the First. This task, it is hoped, will be found to be performed with proper anxiety for the interest of truth, as well as the honour and welfare of our country.

The writer of this volume has another object in view, and he hopes, one which will find shelter in every Irish bosom—namely, to excite an honest and an ardent feeling among his countrymen, for the recorded sufferings of Ireland, and to teach, from the experience of the past, the most certain and judicious mode of guarding against the calamities of the future. To accomplish these views in one volume at once compendious and satisfactory, will be admitted by the candid and ingenuous reader, to be a task of difficulty and hazard.

To relate the afflicting and melancholy events which crowd the history of Ireland, without incurring the charge of prejudice, or the suspicions of party, will perhaps be impossible. Such suspicions, however, do not discourage the attempt to give a brief narrative of our history, with truth, and with impartiality ; with an anxiety to please all parties, but with a determination to sacrifice the cause of justice to none.

It is hoped that the reader of this cheap and compendious volume, will find that the first and last feeling which influenced the pen of him who wrote it, was a sincere and zealous anxiety for the establishment of political and religious freedom among Irishmen of every persuasion.

January 1st, 1814.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

PREVIOUS AND SUBSEQUENT TO THE INTRODUCTION OF
CHRISTIANITY.

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND, previous to the introduction of Christianity, has been considered by the enemies of her ancient fame, as much the theme of the poet, as the calm subject of the dispassionate historian.—The faithful records of our country are rejected as the tales of credulity, and the established glories of its ancient state are considered the dreams of poetry, or the fabrications of national vanity. The satisfactory and laborious researches of O'Connor, O'Halloran, and Vallancey, excite the sneer of scepticism, and their triumphant demonstrations are sarcastically styled the elaborate fictions of a credulous imagination: thus do we often see the English reader, interested perhaps in the calumny and dishonour of Ireland, smile at the honest labours of the patriot, and repel with the affectation of profound philosophy, the struggles of those who have succeeded in proving that Ireland

has been distinguished among the nations of Europe, as the asylum of the muses, the seat of learning and dispenser of knowledge. The enemies of Ireland will in vain labour to tear from the Irish bosom those dear and fond remembrances which their faithful historians have handed down to posterity. The history of ancient Ireland will ever be read by the Irishman as a source of instructive gratification : he will ever look back with honest pride upon those days of her history, when her bards were heard attuning their harps to the glory of their country ; immortalizing by their verses the heroism of her sons, and rousing her pride by the ardour and enthusiasm of their appeals.

The Irishman has often found refuge from the misfortunes which were pressing him, in the cherished and sacred reflection, that however afflicted his country, or however borne down her liberties—however oppressed his countrymen, or however hopeless their cause, still he could look back on the history of his country with some degree of complacency ; for he saw her described as the instructress of Europe, the dispenser of justice, and the island of saints. With O'Flaherty, he speaks with rapture of the one hundred and seventy-one monarchs, who governed Ireland for two thousand years previous to the invasion of Henry II. all of the same house and lineage :—with him he passionately recurs to his monuments of ancient renown, and contends, with an honest and honourable warmth, for the veracity of poetry, and the accuracy of fancy.

He cannot be the friend of Ireland, who would wantonly attempt to shake the Irish belief in the ancient magnificence and honours of his country ; it should never be forgotten that the finest feelings of the heart are produced by the strong impressions of the ancient fame and glory of our country ; that the human mind is improved and animated by the splendid examples which the historian has recorded, and that he who would advance the cause of religion or of morality, should not struggle to throw a shade on the authenticity of those achievements, or dispute the existence of those names, which, as long as they are credited, must excite the admiration, and perhaps the imitation of mankind.—For those reasons it is hoped that the early history of Ireland would be read by every Irishman as a source of instructive reflection, not as a subject of cold and critical scepticism—he should sympathize with the ardour of the patriot, and shed tears over the grave which covered him—his heart should swell with the independence of his country—with the gallant achievements of her heroes, and he should sink into sadness when those achievements were performed in vain, or when perhaps the most precious blood of his countrymen was sacrificed to the exaltation of foreign or domestic tyranny—with those sentiments I shall proceed to give a brief and faithful, though rapid review of the ancient state of Ireland.

It seems to be acknowledged, that there are no literary monuments in Ireland previous to the introduction of Christianity ; that the evidence of any transaction anterior to this period, solely rests

on the credit of Christian writers : that these, lastly, have taken transcripts from the ancient Irish bards, or from records composed during the ages of paganism. A long list of kings is thus made out from the earliest ages of the world, such as Partholan and his sons, with his hounds and his oxen, the gigantic Fomerians, the Numidians, the Firbolgs, and the Tuatha de Danans. These ancient records state, that about 500 years before the Christian era, a colony of Scythians, immediately from Spain, settled in Ireland, and introduced the Phœnician language and letters ; it is also conjectured that previous to the invasion of the Scythians, Ireland might have been peopled from Gaul or Britain ; but it is more generally supposed that the sons of Milesius, Heber, Heremon, and Ith, gave a race of kings to Ireland, under whose government Ireland proceeded from barbarism and anarchy, to civilization and refinement ; that at length Ollam Fodla arose, and gave to Ireland a regular form of government, instituted a grand seminary of learning, and assembled the Fes, or triennial convention of kings, priests, and bards, at Tarah, in Meath.—Keating writes that the object of this convention was to introduce order, and to punish and suppress those crimes which generally predominate in a period of rudeness and violence. Ollam Fodla, the monarch so celebrated in Irish annals, was succeeded by Kimbath and Hugony ; both made great advances in the work of reformation. There were in Ireland five provincial dynasties, and Hugony, to break the power of those rivals, divided the country

into twenty-five dynasties. This arrangement did not long exist; the pentarchy was again restored, and subsequent to this event, the celebrated code or body of laws, called the *Celestial Decisions*, were drawn up by the Irish bards, or Filias, who were in those ages the dispensers and depositories of the laws. The tranquillity expected to follow from the promulgation of this celebrated code of laws did not take place; and the distraction of the country became so extreme, that an Irish chieftain encouraged Agricola to make a descent on Ireland. The invitation was not accepted, and the Irish historian records with triumph, that the Irish monarch of that day, not only was able to repel any foreign invader, but actually sailed to the assistance of the Picts against the Romans, and returned laden with treasure. On the death of this monarch, whose name was Crimthan, Tuathal succeeded, a prince of the Milesian line; the latter separated Meath from the other provinces of Ireland, and appointed it the special appendage of the monarch: he revived the famous assembly at Taltion in Meath, the great resort of the whole nation. The peace of Tuathal's reign was interrupted by a domestic affliction, which was afterwards the source of national sorrow and distraction. The provincial king of Leinster was married to the daughter of Tuathal, but conceiving an adulterous passion for her sister, pretended his wife had died. He demanded and obtained her sister in marriage; the two ladies met in the royal house of Leinster: the Irish monarch invaded his son-in-law, and the province of Leinster was obliged to pay

a tribute, as a perpetual memorial of Tuathal's resentment. This tribute was resisted; and Con, one of the most famous of the Irish monarchs, (called Con of the Hundred Battles,) was slain in his struggles to enforce so odious an exaction.

Cormac O'Con, grandson of this king, is celebrated by historians as the most renowned of all the Irish monarchs. * The magnificence and splendour of his court, his warlike sons, the number of his generals, his powerful army, their illustrious leader, Finn, the father of Ossian, the immortal bard; the terror of his arms in war, and the mildness of his philosophy in solitude, were equally the theme of universal praise. This distinguished prince is said to have reigned about 254 years after Christ. Cormac O'Con was succeeded by his son Carbray Liffecar, who inherited the wisdom as well as the power of his father. Such was the fury and the fanaticism of faction, that this monarch, with his immediate successors, died by the sword in the field, or by treachery in the palace. Crimthan, who carried his arms into Gaul, and Nial of the

* The days of Cormac were those of the greatest glory; in his time most of the utensils of the court were of pure gold or silver; when he dined in state, he was waited upon by the most distinguished gentlemen of the kingdom, besides 1000 men to guard his palace; on his side-board were 150 cups of massy gold and silver. We may form some idea of the munificence, truly royal, which prevailed at Tara, from the annual consumption of the provincial palace of Brian Boru; 2670 beeves, 1370 hogs, 365 pipes of red, and 150 hogsheads of other wine. Such are the relations of Irish annalists, from Stanihurst and Keating, to O'Connor and O'Halloran.

Nine Hostages, fell victims to the assassin. To Dathy, the last of the Pagan monarchs, annalists assign a long and peaceful reign. It is written, that he was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps.

The period above described was marked with all those strong and leading features of the human character, which for the most part distinguish the progress of society in other European settlements. Here are to be found a grand display of all the noble passions of our nature, undaunted valour, the most generous effusions of benevolence and hospitality, great disinterestedness, and an insatiable ambition of fame and glory;—on the other hand will be seen examples of implacable resentment, of desperate and vindictive cruelty. To poetry and music * the ancient Irish were peculiarly devoted; to the influence of the bard † every other

* Giraldus Cambrensis, who would conceal the flattering testimony if he could, is obliged to acknowledge the musical genius of our country: “*In musicis solum, præ-omni natione quam videmus, incomparabiliter est instructa gens hæc.*”

† The controversies of the ancient Irish were generally determined by the Brehons. The Brehon seated himself in the open air on a heap of stones, and his decree was final. King John abolished the Brehon laws of Ireland. The Brehons were all of one family, without any knowledge of civil or canon law. They only retain in memory certain decisions, which by use or length of time obtained force, and, by their construction of those, they framed a sort of art, which they by no means suffered to be published, but reserved to themselves as abstruse and recondite mysteries, concealed from common comprehension. Such is the account of those celebrated tribunals, given by Archbishop Usher, Sir James Ware, Sir Richard Cox, Stanihurst, Spencer, and Davis.

power gave way, and to be made mention of in the poet's song was to the Irish hero sufficient compensation for all his toils, and the most consoling soothing of all his sorrows. The ministers of religion were accounted more than human. To the druid was submitted all differences, and from him there was no appeal. He was the oracle of Irish law, and the grand dispenser of public justice. Thus do we see, that the ancient Irish were not insensible to the value of settled laws; and that, while the annalists of other countries have to describe the savage conflicts of the various clans into which their countrymen were perpetually divided, the Irish historian has to record the solemn and venerated decisions of the Druids, before whom the sword of the warrior, and the vengeance of the chieftain bowed with deferential homage. Such was the state of Ireland previous to the introduction of Christianity. From this period we may trace its history with more certainty, less clouded with legendary or poetical fiction. The adversaries of Irish antiquity endeavour to prove, that St Patrick, the great apostle of Christianity in Ireland, was the first to dispel the mists of ignorance and barbarity, and that he abolished the order of Druidism, so ancient, so venerated, and so powerful. On the other hand, the advocates for the old Irish character, contend, that the Irish were prepared by their learned men to receive the divine and benevolent doctrines of Christ, * and that they

* The year 432 commences a new era.—A revolution in religion, and the introduction of Latin letters into Ireland by St

transcribed the scriptures and liturgies given to them by the Irish apostle with the greatest facility. It is however to be admitted, that many instances of revenge and barbarity are exhibited after the introduction of Christianity, and that the divine morality of the * Christian doctrine did not entirely succeed

Patrick, after whom a succession of pious and learned men arose, who gave celebrity to their country for the four following centuries, during which polite and solid literature languished in almost every other corner of Europe. After Rome had again and again been plundered by the Goths, they ceased, it is said, to speak Latin in Rome itself.

* Dr Campbell, in his learned and enlightened *Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland*, makes the following observations on the labours of the Irish Apostle :—" Full thirty years did St Patrick employ in the most active and exemplary discharge of his ministry, instructing the Irish people in the principles of piety and virtue, beginning, as he did, with the elements of knowledge, pointing to the First Author, as the Moral Governor of the Universe, opening, by degrees, the mysteries of Providence in the gracious scheme of redemption, imitating, in this, the procedure of Divine Wisdom, which, at different periods, was pleased to give different revelations of his will, to frail and fallible man, letting in the rays of illumination by little and little, lest, like weak eyes, they should be dazzled by the splendour of too great a blaze, till at length, when the fulness of time was come, he sent that great Light which was finally to irradiate every corner of the earth, the Author and Finisher of our faith, who delivered the glad tidings of our salvation, love to God, good will to man, without distinction of nations, or respect of persons, teaching what philosophy could never teach, that, denying our ungodliness and our worldly lusts, we should live soberly and righteously in this present world, to entitle us to another and a better, when the world shall pass away, and time and place shall be no more. This excellent personage, being now ninety years old, committed the care of those churches he founded to the pastors which he had set over them, and dedicated the remainder of

in eradicating the old vicious habits of the country. The monks multiplied to a great extent, and became the arbiters of the people. The monks (says Mr O'Connor of Ballenagar), fixed their habitation in deserts, which they cultivated with their own hands, and rendered the most delightful spots. These deserts became well-policed cities; and it is remarkable enough, that to the monks we owe so useful an institution in Ireland as bringing great numbers into one civil community. In those cities the monks set up schools, in which they educated youth, not only of the island, but the neighbouring nations. So writes the venerable Bede. His testimony cannot be contradicted by the enemies of Ireland, that the inhabitants of all parts of Europe resorted to Ireland as the mother of the arts and sciences, the nurse of learning, and the great encourager of the most liberal and philanthropic principles. The darkness of Europe, at this period, gave increased celebrity to the fame of Irish literature; and the 7000 students in the seminary of Armagh alone circulated through the civilized world the literary glory of our illustrious ancestors. Europe, with gratitude, confessed the superior know-

his life to contemplation in different convents.—The entire virtues of a life, already protracted beyond the ordinary limits, and now continued in the pious discharge of monastic functions, could not fail attracting to this venerated patron a sovereign influence over the minds of his converts, and, therefore, we may believe what is recorded of him, that he was enabled to make a temporal provision for the ministers of that religion he had planted, by obtaining from several chieftains endowments of lands, and from the people grants of the tithes of their corn and cattle."

ledge, the piety, and zeal and purity of the Island of Saints. Mr O'Connor (a name dear to the honour of our country) writes, that no essential alterations were attempted by the first Christian missionaries; because they thought that schemes of political legislation belonged properly to the civil power alone. A new code of laws was framed and published by St Patrick in the 5th century, in conjunction with the most celebrated bards and ecclesiastics of that period. This code was denominated Seanchas Moer, or the great antiquity. Some writers (as Sir John Davis and Sir Richard Cox) assert, that the old Irish never had any settled jurisprudence among them, or any written laws; that the judgments of their Brehon or judge were arbitrary and decisive, and that he regulated his opinions more by the uncertain guides of tradition than the settled and confirmed rules of authenticated records. On the other hand, Joseline, Saint Bernard, Cambrensis Eversus (authorities of more credit), contend, that several collections of laws existed in their own days. Roddy, a celebrated Irish antiquarian, removed the doubts of Sir Richard Cox, by shewing him some old Irish law books.

Of the ancient manners of the Irish, it is impossible to give such an account as the mind can rest upon with satisfaction. Credulity and scepticism so balance the scales, that the historian who means to be impartial, should draw a middle line; and it is no small gratification to reflect, that notwithstanding the ardour and enthusiasm with which the advocates of the Irish character relate the achieve-

ments of their countrymen, the wisdom of their laws and regulations, the mildness and paternal tenderness of their government, that much more is to be found worthy of our admiration than the enemies of Ireland are willing to acknowledge; and that the manners of the ancient Irish were neither odious nor disgusting, nor barbarous, as the great historian of England has industriously represented—thus sacrificing the character, and pride, and honour of Ireland, to the malignant jealousy and envy of his adopted country.

According to the old Irish records, called the book of tributes, the obligations of the monarch and his subjects were reciprocal; each had their rights defined, and each lived in perpetual and watchful jealousy of the other. The dignity of the monarch was supported by tributes paid by inferior princes; the withholding of those tributes was often a source of war and convulsion, and each provincial king was interested in supporting the rights of the monarch under whom he derived all his power.

The power and government of each provincial king were exactly similar to that of the monarch; his successor or tainist was elected in his life-time; he also received tributes from inferior chieftains, paid for their services, and was entertained by them in his visitations and attendances on his wars. The same system of controul and of service was carried on through all ranks of society. Throughout Ireland the tenure of lands determined with the life of the possessor; hence the cultivation of grounds

was only in proportion to the immediate demands of nature, and the tributes to be paid to superiors. Among the ancient Irish, hospitality was considered a duty—it was enjoined by law; and no family was suffered to leave their abode without due notice, lest the traveller should be disappointed of his expected reception. The duties to be performed by the subject, and the protection to be afforded by the king, were reciprocal; they were regulated by law; the laird could exact his penalties, or his taxes, under the denomination of Coshierings,* and Bonnaught, and Cuddies, names denoting particular modes of provision for the temporary support of himself and his attendants; and which, under the odious titles of coin and livery, were so severely condemned, and so violently resisted. The laws of the old Irish provided against murder, rape, adultery, theft, robbery; but the punishment inflicted for the perpetration of the most odious crime, with the exception of murder, which was punished with death, was no more than the imposition of a pecuniary penalty or eric, which was generally to be paid to the relations of the party injured. Some opinion of the extreme lenity of the old Irish penal code may be deduced from this example; nor are we to wonder that a people who manifested such anxiety to proportion the punishment to the offence as they always did, should

* Coshiering was free quarters for the chieftain himself—Bonnaught was free quarters for his soldiers—Cuddy was a supper and lodging, which a chief had a right to demand, not only from his subjects, but from his equals. There were other imposts for dogs and horses.

be considered, by Sir John Davis, the greatest lovers of equal and impartial justice.

From the invasion of the English may be dated the decline of that moral and honest principle which seems to have regulated the old Irish in the performance of their duties to their Sovereign and to each other. With regard to their dress, it is minutely and accurately described by Irish authors.* The vest, the trows, the mantle, the enormous linen sleeves dyed with saffron, (the men generally assuming a warlike aspect), their thick beards and great whiskers, their bushy hair hanging over their whiskers, gave them a fierce and formidable appearance. Their customs were as remarkable as their dress. The custom of fosterage† particularly has excited the curiosity of the antiquarian. The Brehon laws seem to intimate that fostering was the occupation of those whose inferior condition rendered them incapable of doing other services to the public. Irish writers state that children were given from different families to be nursed and bred up in others, and that inferiors thus purchased the

* It is a remarkable fact, that linen was so plenty amongst the ancient Irish, that even in the reign of Henry the Eighth, an act passed, prohibiting them putting more than seven yards of linen in a shirt or shift.—*Stat. 28th, Henry 8th.*

† Stanihurst says, on the custom of fosterage, “ You cannot find one instance of perfidy, deceit, or treachery among fosterers ; nay, they are ready to expose themselves to all manner of dangers for the safety of those who sucked their mother’s milk. You may beat them to mummy, you may put them upon the rack, you may burn them on a gridiron, you may expose them to the most exquisite torture that the cruellest tyrant can invent, yet you will never remove them from that innate fidelity which is grafted in them—you will never induce them to betray their duty.

honour of fostering the children of the rich. Thus, say they, a stricter connection was formed between different families and different tribes. The fragments of the Brehon law, however, contradict this statement. In those laws it is laid down, that wages shall be given to fosterers, in proportion to the time that children continue under their care, and the instruction they have received. The youth in fosterage was instructed in the management of cattle, in husbandry and tillage; and thus an affection and attachment were created between the instructor and the instructed, which seemed to emulate the attachments of the closest affinity. Thus it appears, that the laws, and manners, and customs of the old Irish, do not merit the idle and absurd denunciations, which ignorant malignity has so often pronounced against them. That the rights of Irishmen were accurately defined by their laws, their properties and liberties protected by an impartial administration of justice; that they had their legislative assemblies, their judges, and their clergy, all equally venerated and looked up to by the people; that the noblest sentiments of the heart were cultivated and cherished, and that the Irishman considered his country, when compared with the surrounding world, as the envied land of justice and learning—her bards contributing the efforts of their genius to render her immortal, while the first characters in Europe, with Charlemagne* at their

* It is universally admitted, that, in early times, Ireland was the great mart of literature in Europe. Spencer contends that the Irish had the use of letters long before England, and that

head, were paying homage to her superiority in letters, and to her valour in the field.

Of the invasions of Ireland which took place previous to the invasion of the English monarch, the first was that of Egfred, the king of Northumberland, who made a descent on Ireland in the year 684, as we are informed by Bede, who laments with a kind and benevolent heart the misery and devastation suffered by a people who were most friendly to the English nation. Perhaps for this reason, Henry and his successors visited the beautiful and fertile plains of Ireland with misery and desolation. Soon after, this country was invaded by the Danes and Norwegians; their expeditions commenced about the eighth century. About this period the monarchy of Ireland was enjoyed in alternate succession by the two branches of the Hy-Nial race, the northern house of Tyrone, and the southern, or Clan-Colman, seated in Meath. The

Oswald, a Saxon king, applied to Ireland for learned men to instruct his people in the principles of Christianity. Camden says it abounded with men of genius and erudition, when learning was trampled on in every other quarter of the globe. Irish monks were the founders of the most celebrated abbeys and monasteries in France, Italy, Switzerland, England. The younger Scaliger writes, that, 200 years before the age of Charlemagne, all the learned were of Ireland. The great Alfred brought professors from this seat of science, to his college of Oxford. Mr. Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, superciliously remarks, on the ancient literary fame of Ireland, "A people," he writes, "dissatisfied with their present condition, grasp at any vision of the past or future glory;"—thus does this luminous historian draw his pen across the successful labours of our Irish antiquarians."

power of the monarch was limited, but the people were happy, and the country respected by surrounding powers. In the space of twenty years, frequent invasions of these northern hordes took place, each of which harassed the country, and at length succeeded in establishing some small settlements in various parts. In 825, Turgesius, a warlike Norwegian, landed with a powerful armament, pillaged and devastated the country, and seated himself at Armagh, from which he expelled the clergy, and confiscated their property. The Irish, after some resistance, submitted to the conquerors, and the northern leader, after a residence of thirty years, was proclaimed monarch of Ireland.

Historians describe the barbarities of the Norwegians in the most affecting and pathetic colours; their insolence and oppression, their destruction of every monument of learning, their profane havoc of the most sacred records, the overthrow of the most renowned seminaries and religious houses. Such scenes at length awoke the slumbering spirit of Irishmen, and the Danes were annihilated by a sudden and simultaneous insurrection of the people. New colonies came from the north of Europe, and settled in the cities of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and other principal towns. Being a trading and industrious race of people, they were suffered to remain unmolested, until large reinforcements of their countrymen made them once more formidable to Ireland.

The most vigorous and dreadful opponent which the northern foreigners ever experienced, was the

illustrious and renowned Brian Boromy, or Brian Boreu. He was king of Munster, and was called to the throne by the unanimous voice of his admiring countrymen; he defeated the Danes and Norwegians in many pitched battles, and roused his countrymen to one universal exertion; his valour threw the king of Ireland into the shade; Malachy was deposed, and Brian Boreu was declared sovereign of his country. Under his parental reign the wounds of Ireland began to heal; churches and seminaries rose from their ruins, lands were cultivated, confidence restored, laws administered and strongly enforced; and while this patriot king was completing his great work of regenerating his native land, he was again invaded by the Danes, with whom he fought the celebrated battle at Clontarf, which, it is supposed, struck at the root of the Danish power in Ireland. The old king numbered his 88th year; he witnessed the fall of his beloved son in this great conflict with the Danes, and it is supposed, that the king himself fell a victim to the dagger of an assassin from the camp of the enemy.

The deposed Malachy was again called to the throne, and after several battles, totally extinguished the power of the Danes in Ireland. The succession being interrupted by the election of Brian Boreu, the Irish nation was involved in the most melancholy scenes of anarchy and distraction, by the struggles of competitors for the Irish throne. The son of Brian disputed the crown with various success. At length the nephew of the Irish monarch was proclaimed king of Ireland.

The laws and the religion of the country were silenced and trampled on, among the clamours of faction and the tumult of arms ; and Bernard the monk, paints those times as the most calamitous in the history of ancient Ireland. Convulsed and weakened by internal feuds and animosities, Ireland was an easy prey to the first invader who descended on her shores. Magnus, the king of Norway, made the experiment, and, in the full confidence of victory, rushed into the heart of the country, without caution or vigilance. The Irish, whose native securities enabled them to take advantage of the precipitate conduct of the king of Norway, darted unexpectedly from their retreats and fastnesses, and cut the invading army to pieces. Factions still continued to mangle and debilitate the Irish people ; and it would appear as if Providence had ordered that Ireland should be prepared, by the follies of her own sons, for that invasion which the English nation soon after effected.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

INVASION OF HENRY II.

FOR a length of time previous to the invasion of Ireland by Henry II. this country might have fallen an easy prey to the ambition of any foreign prince inclined to make the experiment. Torn and convulsed by faction, she would have been unable to struggle with the well regulated excursions of an invading enemy, and the errors of her children might have been the successful allies of Denmark, of Norway, of Sweden, or of England. But all these countries were too much occupied by more important interests, to allow them the opportunity of taking advantage of Ireland's follies and divisions. The mind and passions of Europe were carried down the torrent of religious fanaticism, and the wealth and enterprise of its principal kingdoms found ample employment in the wild and unproductive struggles for the recovery of the Holy Land. The strength, the resources, and value of Ireland,

were not, however, unknown or overlooked by the governments of surrounding nations: her people were celebrated for their valour, their hospitality, and their heroism; the English and the Welsh have fled for succour and protection to Ireland, and the three sons of Harold found a safe and hospitable asylum in this country, when pursued by the triumphant arms of William the Conqueror. An Irish army contended on English ground for the rights of Englishmen, against the merciless and despotic ambition of William; and we are informed by Irish annalists, that Murtough, the Irish monarch, was solicited by the Earl of Pembroke to defend him against the vengeance of Henry I. France assiduously courted Irish alliance; and the formidable co-operation of this country with the enemy of England, first pointed out to Henry II. the policy of annexing Ireland to his English dominions.

Various pretexts were assigned by the English monarch, to justify the invasion of a country, which might be either a perpetual source of strength or of weakness, which might be the bulwark of England, or its most formidable enemy; and possessed of the wealth and resources with which it was known to abound, would be ever an object of jealousy and rivalry to the wealth and the industry of Englishmen, and of respect and regard to foreigners. We are not to wonder, therefore, that every artifice which power and talents could suggest, or which the superstition of the times would countenance and encourage, should have been practised by Henry, to

justify the violence of his proceedings against a brave and unoffending nation. We accordingly find, that Pope Adrian was prevailed on by the solicitation of the English monarch, to grant a bull, investing Henry with full power and authority to invade the kingdom of Ireland; and that, in the language of this solemn instrument issued by his holiness, "Henry II. should enter the kingdom of Ireland, with the pious purpose of extending the borders of the church, restraining the progress of vice, correcting the manners of its inhabitants, and increasing the influence of religion; and that in consideration for this power so vested in the English monarch, the annual pension of one penny for every house, be levied and delivered over to the service of St. Peter." This bull, with a ring, the token of investiture, was presented to Henry, as rightful sovereign of Ireland.

Such is the ground of Henry's justification for the invasion of this country; and such is the flimsy covering which interested historians throw over the spirit of usurpation and ambition, that first urged the English nation to trample upon the liberties of Ireland; and by fraud and violence to desolate a country, illustrious for its kindness and its hospitality, its sincerity and honour; possessed of qualities which would have made her a useful and powerful ally, and which afterwards became the fruitful source of bitterness and disaster to Englishmen.

It is recorded, that about the period of the English invasion, certain ceremonies and points of discipline of the Irish church were first assimilated to

those of Rome; that Cardinal Paparon was delegated by the Pope to new-model the ecclesiastical constitution of Ireland, for which purpose, Irish annalists state, that he assembled three thousand clergymen, regular and secular, in the town of Drogheda, about the year 1152; that at this period the discipline of Rome was universally established, and the spiritual pre-eminence of the Pope formally recognised. The preparations of Henry for the invasion were interrupted by the insurrections of his brother Geoffry in the province of Anjou;—his invasion of Wales, and his contests with Becket and the church, kept him in a continued state of agitation, and suspended the fate of Ireland for a considerable time. The circumstances of this country were peculiarly well calculated to encourage the speculations of a king, whose force was undivided and entire, whose power was uncontrouled, and whose genius was equal to the magnitude of the undertaking. Ireland was then governed by a monarch, the tenure of whose government depended for the most part on his personal valour and abilities: perpetually harassed by factions, and opposed by powerful rivals; his subjects frequently disputing the extent of his powers, the rights of his sovereignty, and taking up or laying down their arms according to the caprice of the hour, or the influence of faction. For example:—of Ulster, the family of Hy-Nial were the hereditary sovereigns; of Munster, the descendants of the illustrious O'Brian; of Connaught, the family of O'Connor: and Leinster gave the title of royalty to Dermot

M'Murchad, a prince handed down to posterity by Irish annalists in the most odious and contemptible colours.

The rival monarchs of Ireland were, O'Connor, king of Connaught, and Hy-Nial, king of Ulster. The former, in conjunction with Dermod, king of Leinster, overran the territory of O'Rourk, the prince of Breffney or Leitrim; and seduced O'Rourk's wife, whose name was Deverghall. This outrage was the fruitful parent of that long series of misery experienced by Ireland for centuries after. O'Rourk succeeds in his efforts to separate O'Connor from his alliance with the king of Leinster, and, aided by the arms of the western monarch, recovers his wife from the adulterer. Roderic O'Connor succeeded to the throne of his father, Turlogh O'Connor. This prince proceeded to Dublin, immediately after his father's death, and was there solemnly inaugurated. He then marched to the north, and was received by the chieftains of Ulster with every mark of the most respectful submission. Dermod fled before the united forces of Roderic and O'Rourk, whose honour he had abused; and his subjects unanimously deposed him as unworthy to be their king. Roderic, in his progress through the country, appeared in all the pomp and pride of majesty, acknowledged by all as their rightful and beloved sovereign. He held a magnificent convention of the states at Meath, where the honours and magnificence of his country were revived with all their ancient glory; and independent and imperial Ireland, which had been rudely

assailed by factions, seemed once more to raise her head under the guidance of a monarch whose courage and whose talents were the boast and admiration of his countrymen. Dermod, deserted by his people, an object of detestation and contempt, prompted by the indignant feelings of insulted and fallen pride, threw himself into the arms of England, as the last and only refuge he could find from the persecution of his malignant fortunes. He embarked for England with sixty of his most trusty followers, where he was received with unbounded hospitality. Henry, the English monarch, was at this time endeavouring to suppress the insurrection of his subjects in his French dominions. Dermod immediately repaired to Henry, and laid at his feet the story of his misfortunes and persecutions in his native country. He implored the aid of the British king, and, if supported by his arms in the assertion of his undoubted rights, promised to hold his recovered dominions in vassalage to Henry and his heirs.

The insurrection of Henry's French subjects, the obstinate rebellion of his brother Geoffry, and the more obstinate resistance of Bishop Becket, prevented Henry going in person to vindicate the cause, and assert the rights of the exiled Irish king; but he gave a licence to such of his English subjects as were disposed to aid Dermod in the recovery of his rights. Dermod returned to England, full of hope and confidence. He was joined by Earl Pembroke and Robert Fitzstephen, both Welsh noblemen, and celebrated in their own country as men

of high spirit, and splendid achievements. To these adventurers Dermot promised the entire dominion of the town of Wexford, with a large adjoining territory, as soon as, by their assistance, he should be reinstated in his rights. After Dermot had concluded this treaty with these Welsh adventurers, he proceeded to Ireland to inform his friends that he was about to be supported by a powerful foreign alliance. He landed at Wexford, where he lay concealed in a monastery, until the returning spring brought round the period at which the arrival and co-operation of the English allies were expected. Roderic, king of Ireland, hearing of the arrival of Dermot, immediately marched against the latter, and forced him to fly for shelter to the woods. Dermot, sensible of his inability to wage so unequal a war with Roderic, submitted to the Irish monarch, and gave hostages for his future peaceable and loyal conduct. Roderic agreed to the terms of submission, and again reposed confidence in his fidelity. These pledges of peace had not long been given by Dermot to Roderic, when his English allies appeared on the coast of Wexford. Robert Fitzstephen, with thirty knights, sixty men in armour, and three hundred archers, all chosen men of Wales, arrived in Ireland in the year 1170.—The army was reinforced with ten knights, and two hundred archers, under the command of Maurice ap Pendergast, the valiant Welshman. The report of this formidable invasion, (formidable when we consider the divisions of Ireland,) had no sooner circulated through the neighbouring counties, than the old subjects of

Dermod conceived it expedient to resume their allegiance, and to crowd round his standard, with all the ardour of the most zealous loyalty. The combined forces marched to Wexford, and the Irish and Ostmen, who then governed the town, marched out to meet the enemy. The Irish army were compelled to return to the town, and the enemy, encouraged by this temporary success, pursued them to the gates of the city. The Irish turned upon their pursuers, and drove back the enemy with considerable loss. At length the clergy of the garrison interposed their mediation between the besieged and besiegers, and Wexford was given up to Dermod, and Earl Pembroke, who was immediately invested with the lordship of the city and domain. Harvy of Mountmauris was also head of two considerable districts, on the coast between Wexford and Waterford. Here was settled the first colony of British inhabitants, differing in manners, customs, and language, from the natives, and even to this day preserving that difference in a very remarkable degree, notwithstanding the lapse of many ages. Dermod immediately proceeded at the head of his combined forces, amounting to 3000 men, to lay waste the territory of the prince of Ossory, (a part of Leinster,) which he desolated with fire and sword; and though the Irish army made a most heroic resistance to the invader, the superiority of English discipline and English arms, counterbalanced the advantages which the Irish enjoyed from their superior knowledge of the country. Had the latter patiently remained in the woods and morasses,

where the English cavalry could not act, they would have wearied the courage, and baffled the discipline of the invaders, and perhaps would have preserved the independence of their country. A reliance on the intrepidity of their soldiers, betrayed them from their native situations into the open plains, where they were exposed to the superior generalship of the English invader.

English historians have laboured, with malicious industry, to paint the comparative superiority of their countrymen, over the wild and barbarous natives of Ireland; and hesitate not to brand with the infamous epithets of cruel, and savage, and uncultivated, these unoffending people, whose properties the English were desolating, whose peace they were disturbing, and on the rights and liberties of whose country they were about to trample.

The vengeance of an unprincipled and exiled Irish monarch found refuge in the ambition and avarice of English adventurers; and the miserable and afflicting scenes, which the reader of Irish history is doomed to wade through, were acted under the specious and insulting pretext of order, religion, and morality—but to proceed. Dermot succeeded in bringing to subjection the revolted subjects of his government, and prepared to defend himself against the denunciations of the Irish monarch, who now began to be alarmed, at an invasion which he had hitherto viewed with contempt, and without apprehension.

The Irish reader contemplates, with a mixture of gratification and melancholy, the picture of mag-

nificence and grandeur which the preparations of the monarch of Ireland present to his view, for the invasion of the territories of Dermod, and the expulsion of the English army, who presumed to violate the independence of Ireland. He convened the estates of the nation at Tarah, in Meath. He ordained new laws, raised and regulated new seminaries, distributed splendid donations to the various professors of learning, and assembled and reviewed the army in presence of the vassal Irish sovereigns, who waited on their monarch. Dermod, deserted by his subjects on the approach of the Irish monarch, fled to his fastnesses in Wexford, where he strongly entrenched himself.

Before Roderic unsheathed his sword, he remonstrated with the English leaders on the injustice and cruelty of their invasion ; on the shameful and odious connection they had formed with an adulterer, and traitor to his country ; and that the war they were about to wage with the Irish, was as impolitic as it was unprincipled ; for surely, said the monarch of Ireland, Englishmen cannot suppose that Ireland will surrender her rights to a foreign power, without a dreadful and sanguinary struggle.

Fitzstephen, the English general, refused to desert his Irish ally, and determined to abide the event of the contest. Roderic still hesitated, before he would proceed to force ; and at the moment he could have crushed this infant effort of the English, to subjugate his country, he was solicited by the clergy to enter into a treaty with Dermod ; the prin-

cipal condition of which was, that he should immediately dismiss the British, with whom again he was never to court an alliance. Soon after this treaty, we find the English general, Fitzstephen, building a fort at Carrig, remarkable for the natural strength of its situation. Dermod, supported by his English allies, proceeded to Dublin, and laid waste the territories surrounding that city with fire and sword. The citizens laid down their arms, and supplicated mercy from the cruel and malignant enemy. It is the duty of the historian to record, that the inhabitants of this devoted city found refuge in the mercy of the English general, who interposed to allay the fury of Dermod's vengeance. Dermod was not inattentive to every opportunity which afforded him a pretext to violate the treaty, into which force alone obliged him to enter with the Irish monarch. He defended the son-in-law of Donald O'Brien, prince of Thomond, against the efforts of Roderic to reduce him to obedience, and again solicited the aid of his English allies, to assert the rights of his family, against the ambition and pretensions of the Irish monarch. The English generals cheerfully obeyed the invitation; and Roderic, alarmed by the rumours of the formidable strength of the allied armies, declined, for the present, to curb the licentiousness of the prince of Thomond, or to dispute the rights of Dermod to the sovereignty of Leinster.

The son of Dermod was then in the power of Roderic, as an hostage for the allegiance of his father. He threatened Dermod with the destruction

of his child, if he did not instantly return to his obedience, dismiss his English allies, and ceased to harass and disturb his unoffending neighbours.

Dermot defied the power of Roderic, was careless of the fate of his son, and openly avowed his pretensions to the sovereignty of Ireland. The head of the young Dermot was instantly struck off by order of Roderic. The English continued to spread through the country the wide wasting calamities of a sanguinary war; their thirst of blood seemed to increase with the number of their victims, and their spirit of destruction with the bountiful productions of nature, which covered the country around them. At length the jealousy of the British sovereign awoke, and suspended the fate of this unhappy people; and the meanest passion of the human mind prompted Henry to take those measures which justice should have dictated.

Henry issued his edict, forbidding any future supplies of men or of arms to be sent to Ireland, and commanding all his subjects there instantly to return. Strongbow immediately dispatched Raymond to his sovereign, to endeavour to allay his jealousy, and to impress his sovereign with the conviction, that whatever they had conquered in Ireland, was conquered for Henry, and that he alone was the rightful possessor of all those territories which had submitted to the arms of Strongbow. Raymond was received with haughtiness and distrust by the English monarch, who refused to comply with his solicitations. At this period bishop Becket was murdered; a circumstance which to Henry was a

source of bitter affliction. The king of Leinster died, amidst the triumphs of his allies, despised by the English, who took advantage of his treason, and execrated by the Irish as an infamous and unprincipled exile. The death of this prince was immediately followed by an almost total defection of the Irish from the earl Strongbow. The earl was compelled to shut himself up: cut off from supplies, and dejected in spirits, he was thus precipitated from the summit of victory, to the lowest gradation of distress. This cheering fact flew through Ireland; and the Irish chieftains crowded from all quarters, went from province to province, animating the people to one bold and general effort against the common enemy of Irish liberty.

Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, distinguished himself on this occasion by the zeal and vigour of his patriotism. The sanctity of his character gave weight to his representations. His appeals to the insulted spirit of Irish independence were heard with rapture; and an army, composed of men determined to assert the rights of Ireland, rose up at his call. Dublin was surrounded on all sides, the harbour blocked up, and Strongbow, with an army, which had a few weeks back been desolating the fields of Ireland, was threatened with annihilation by a powerful and indignant monarch. Roderic encamped his troops at Castlenock, westward of Dublin. O'Rourke of Leitrim placed himself north of the harbour, near Clontarf. The lord of O'Kinselagh occupied the opposite side, while the prince of Thomond advanced to Kilmainham, within less

than a mile from the walls of the metropolis. Even Laurence, the archbishop, appeared in arms, animating his countrymen to the defence of their liberties against the cruel and desolating invasion of foreign adventurers. The English army might now have paid the forfeit of the injustice and the cruelty which they practised on the Irish, had the latter been animated by one spirit, or directed by one absolute commander. Strongbow took advantage of jealousies and rivalships which existed in the Irish army, and, driven by the desperation of his circumstances, boldly rushed upon the besieging army, and succeeded in dispersing a force which threatened the besieged with annihilation. So confident was the Irish monarch of expelling from his country that proud and insolent force which dared to invade its shores, that he rejected with disdain the overtures of Strongbow, who proposed to acknowledge Roderic as his sovereign, provided the latter would raise the siege. Nothing short of Strongbow's departure from Ireland, with all his forces, would appease the insulted majesty of Ireland. So humiliating a condition served but to rouse from despair the brave and intrepid spirit of Strongbow. He made one effort more, which succeeded in rescuing himself and his faithful followers from the most distressing difficulties. Strongbow immediately proceeded to Wexford and Waterford, and devoted some time at Ferns to the exercise of his sovereign authority as undisputed king of Leinster. Here he distributed rewards among his friends, and inflicted punishments on the disaffect-

ed. Strongbow was at length summoned to appear before the British monarch, who, having conquered all the difficulties with which he had to combat, both from foreign and domestic enemies, was alarmed at the triumphs of his English subjects in Ireland. The earl obeyed. He appeared before his sovereign, and justified his conduct; he surrendered Dublin, with all the maritime forts and towns, to Henry. Strongbow was suffered by the monarch to retain all his Irish possessions, to be held by the British sovereign and his heirs. O'Rourk of Breffney made a vigorous attack on Dublin, which was bravely defended by Milo de Cogan, one of the boldest and the most intrepid of the English adventurers. O'Rourk lost his son in the attack; a source of bitter affliction to the Irish army. Those extraordinary successes, by an army who were reduced to the greatest extremity, impressed the people of Ireland with dreadful anticipations of that force, which the English monarch had determined to march into their country. The artifices adopted by Henry were not less calculated to conciliate, than the fame of his arms and his talents were to intimidate. He affected to be incensed at the depredations committed by his English subjects on the unoffending people of Ireland, and promised this credulous nation, that he would inflict on their oppressors the most exemplary punishment. Such professions induced numbers to proffer their submission to Henry, and to co-operate with this artful monarch in the conquest of their native land. Not less auxiliary to the designs and speculations of Henry were the malignant jealousies of the Irish

chieftains towards each other. Each seemed to think only for his own ambition, for his own aggrandisement; all sacrificed their common country to the miserable passions of envy, of jealousy, or of rivalry. Henry, with his accustomed talent, seized the opportunity which Irish folly afforded him, and determined to invade Ireland, with such a force as would ensure an easy conquest of this beautiful and fertile country. He collected a fleet of 240 ships, which conveyed an army consisting of 400 knights and 4000 soldiers, headed by Strongbow.

William Fitzansdelm, Hugh de Lacy, and Robert Fitzbernard, with this powerful force, arrived in Waterford, in October, 1172. The fame of this celebrated expedition, the magnitude of the undertaking, the well known talents of its leader, his artful and dexterous negotiations with the respective Irish chieftains, the misfortunes which flowed from struggles with comparatively petty adventurers,—all these circumstances concurred to induce the various Irish chieftains to volunteer in doing homage to the English monarch. The same sentiment seemed to influence the minds of all; and we are therefore told that Dermot MacCarty, prince of Desmond, * resigned the city of Limerick to the

* Desmond, anciently Desmunham or south Munster, was formerly a country in the province of Munster, but now a part of the counties of Kerry, or Cork. Its ancient kings were the McCartys, hereditary chiefs of Cork. After the arrival of the English, it gave title to a branch of the Fitzgeralds, who were afterwards attainted by Queen Elizabeth; also to Sir Richard Preston, Lord Dingwall, in Scotland; and at present it gives title to the family of Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, in England.

sovereignty of Henry, engaging to pay tribute, on condition that he was to enjoy a certain portion of territory without any further molestation or restraint. The chiefs of Munster vied with each other in the alacrity of their submissions. Henry returned to Wexford, and stationed garrisons at Cork, Waterford, and Limerick. He then proceeded to Dublin, and in passing through the country, the Irish chieftains of Limerick appeared before the English monarch, and became his tributaries. The rapid progress of Henry's arms, and the defection of the Irish chiefs, from the standard of their lawful monarch, alarmed the Irish king.

Roderic, though abandoned by those vassal kings who swore allegiance to him, and harassed by the dissensions of his family and the factions of his people, would not resign his title to the monarchy of Ireland, without a great and formidable struggle. He collected his faithful troops, and intrenched himself on the banks of the Shannon. Hugh de Lacy, and Fitzansdelm, were ordered by Henry to reduce the refractory monarch to subjection. The brave and powerful chiefs of Ulster still remained unsubdued, and Roderic determined to surrender the dignity of his country but with his life. Henry left no arts unpractised to seduce the Irish chieftains from their allegiance. He dazzled the eyes of the people by the splendour of his hospitality; he deceived them by the most conciliating expressions of kindness; he intoxicated the base and degraded Irishman by the magnitude of his professions, and consoled the afflicted and depressed spirits of a

subjugated people, by a perpetual round of costly pleasures, of empty though splendid pageantry. Such, for 600 years, has been the insidious practice of England towards this devoted country ; the hospitality of the viceroy's table, put into the scale against the miserable consequences of a narrow and malignant policy, which, full of jealousy and terror, cramps the industry, corrupts the morals, and encourages the most vicious and unprincipled propensities of our nature.

It is asserted by English historians, that the Irish clergy pressed forward with peculiar alacrity, to make their submission to Henry ; but, for the honour of the Irish clergy, it is very remarkable, that the most celebrated prelate of Ireland at that period, Gelasius, primate of Armagh, refused to attend ; or, in other words, refused to sanction, by his presence, the usurpations of Henry. The English monarch, it is true, found some ready instruments among the Irish clergy, who prostituted their ministry in the service of the invader. They were a small and contemptible minority ; and in the age of Henry II., as well as in subsequent times, the majority of the Irish clergy could not be seduced by corruption, nor intimidated by terror, into a surrender of their liberties, or the rights of their countrymen. The synod assembled at Cashel, ordered that no marriages should take place within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity ; it directed, that baptism should be publicly administered, that the youth should be instructed, tythes regularly paid, and the land of the clergy exempted from secular

exactions. At this synod, Henry did not presume to innovate upon the ancient discipline and usages of the Irish church. The old Irish customs remained untouched, but, with regard to the clergy, some mitigation of the heavy penalties imposed on them was recommended and adopted. It appears, that Henry never hazarded the experiment of imposing the laws of England on his Irish subject chieftains. The latter stipulated to become his vassals and tributaries; and Henry, on his part, engaged to protect them in the administration of their separate governments, according to their own laws and customs. * They governed their people,

* The unwarranted contempt and malignity with which Mr Hume speaks of the old Irish character, and which he so unphilosophically discovers in all his observations on the people of this insulted country, cannot but excite the indignation, and wound the pride of every man who has read our ancient history, or who has followed the melancholy relation of Irish suffering. The ancient fame of this beautiful island, in arts as well as in arms, and the cruel devastation which it suffered from those hands that calumniated and slandered the memory of the people whom they plundered, are recorded by authors too powerful, and too commanding of universal credit, to be set aside by a philosophic sneer of contempt, or satirical sarcasm of incredulity, though coming from the pen of so great and so profound an historian as Mr Hume. On this subject his usual love of truth and justice deserts him; and we behold with sorrow one of the ablest historians which the world has produced, carried down the stream of inveterate prejudice with the humblest names, who have presumed to defame and falsify the character of the Irish nation.

Mr Hume thus writes of the ancient state of Ireland:

“The Irish, from the beginning of time, had been buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance; and as they were never conquered, or even invaded by the Romans, from whom all the western world derived its civility, they continued

says Sir John Davis, by the Brehon law, they made their own magistrates, they pardoned and punished all malefactors within their respective jurisdictions, they made war and peace, without any foreign controul or dictation; and this they did, not only in the reign of Henry II., but in all subsequent times, until the reign of Elizabeth. Soon after Henry obtained possession of Dublin, he granted it by charter to the inhabitants of Bristol, to be

still in the most rude state of society, and were distinguished only by those vices to which human nature, not tamed by education, nor restrained by laws, is for ever subject. The small principalities, into which they were divided, exercised perpetual rapine and violence against each other. The uncertain succession of their princes was a continual source of domestic convulsions. The usual title of each petty sovereign, was the murder of his predecessor. Courage and force, though exercised in the commission of crimes, were more honoured than any pacific virtues; and the most simple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, were almost wholly unknown among them. They had felt the invasions of the Danes, and other northern people; but these inroads, which had spread barbarism in the other northern parts of Europe, tended rather to improve the Irish; and the only towns which were to be found in this island, had been planted along the coast by the freebooters of Norway and Denmark. The other inhabitants exercised pasturage in the open country, sought protection from any danger in their forts and morasses, and being divided by the severest animosities against each other, were still more intent on the means of mutual injury, than on expeditions for the common, or even for private interest." Thus writes Mr Hume against the testimony of Bede, Camden, Keating, Usher, O'Connor, and almost every name worthy of our veneration. And thus does the great English historian fling into the shade, the enormities of that power, which was the fruitful parent of all those jealousies and convulsions, that rendered Ireland an easy prey to its insatiable and consuming rapacity.

held of him and his heirs, with the same liberties and customs which they enjoyed at Bristol. He also divided that part of Ireland which was immediately subject to him, or which is generally denominated within the pale, into shires and counties. He appointed sheriffs for counties and cities, with judges itinerant ; officers of justice, and of state, and all the appendages of English government, and English law. He also appointed a chief governor, who was to exercise the royal authority in his absence ; and made such regulations as were in his mind calculated to perpetuate his authority, and confirm his conquests. The affairs of England now demanded the attention of Henry ; and the threatened denunciations of the Roman pontiff obliged him to suspend his proceedings against Ireland, and to return, with all possible expedition, to the protection of his English dominions. Henry was thus compelled to leave the greater part of Ireland unsubdued ; and those parts which submitted to him, were under the government of men whose allegiance was questionable, and whose ambition and avarice were insatiable. The west of Ireland, under Roderic, the north, under O'Neil, was still unconquered.—Henry settled his confidential officers, and gave to each the command of the most principal places which had submitted to him. To Hugh de Lacy, he granted the whole territory of Meath, and made him governor of Dublin. He commanded forts and castles to be raised in Dublin ; and granted to John de Courcy the entire province

of Ulster, provided he could reduce it by force of arms.

Had not the English monarch been thus interrupted in his efforts to reduce the kingdom of Ireland, the latter might have escaped the tedious and lingering torture of protracted warfare. The intriguing talents of Henry would have achieved what the merciless sword of the mercenary soldier could scarcely effect, and prosperity would have been rescued from the afflicting visitations of civil war, flowing from the struggles of the rapacity of a vindictive conqueror, with the indignant bravery of insulted freedom.

Henry embarked at Wexford, and landed at Pembroke, on the feast of Easter 1173. From hence he proceeded to Normandy, to meet the convention of cardinals there, assembled by the direction and authority of the Pope. It is said, the Roman pontiff Alexander, consented, at this convention, to confirm the grant of Ireland by Pope Adrian.

Sir John Davis observes, that Henry left not one true or faithful subject behind him, more than he found when he first landed. A small interval of time elapsed, until the old animosities and jealousies of the Irish chieftains broke out with their accustomed fury, and, impatient of the yoke to which they had submitted, manifested a disposition to rebel against the authority, to which they had so lately, and so reluctantly submitted.

The followers of Henry proceeded, after the departure of their master, to make such regulations,

and adopt such measures, as might secure the subjection of the conquered Irish. They parcelled out lands to their most attached English friends, and drove the unoffending natives from the inheritance of their forefathers. Such measures roused the indignation of Roderic, the prince of Breffney* or Leitrim. He repaired to Dublin, and insisted upon a conference at Tara. This conference was held; but, as English historians relate, O'Rourk endeavoured, insiduously, to ensnare the unwary English general, who had nigh fallen a victim to his confidence in his honour. Here it may be permitted to observe, that the situation of O'Rourk, the Irish chieftain, rendered him more independent of the dishonourable artifices, with which he is charged, than that of the English viceroy De Lacy. That the cautions which historians put into the mouths of De Lacy's friends not to trust to the honour of O'Rourk, were only more artful modes of concealing the stratagem, which was planned and executed by the English, and that an Irish chieftain, from his rank, situation, and condition, would be less likely to put into practice the low or

* Breffney or Breghane, that is, the country of the little hills, called also Hy-re Leigh, or the district of the country of the king, the chiefs of which were the O'Reillys. The subordinate districts of this country were each governed by their respective chiefs, viz. O'Rourk, O'Brady, O'Carry, O'Sheridan, MacKurnam, and MacGauroll, most of whom were in possession of their estates at the beginning of the last century. Breffney is now called the county of Cavan, in the province of Ulster, though formerly it took in Leitrim, and was divided into east and west Breffney.

the mean artifices of cowardly policy, than those administrations, whose diminished forces were now confined to a very small portion of Irish territory, and who would leave no experiment untried by which their objects could be obtained, or their enemy vanquished. O'Rourke fell a victim at this conference, and De Lacy was thus liberated from one of his most formidable opponents.

The Irish loudly proclaimed the treachery by which their favourite prince was sacrificed, and vowed the most dreadful vengeance on his destroyers. At this period the English monarch was engaged in endeavouring to suppress the formidable rebellion of his son Henry in Normandy. The latter was joined by the French and Scottish monarchs, and threatened his royal parent with the loss of his foreign dominions. Henry, with that promptitude which always distinguished his character, led a powerful army into France. Strongbow flew from Ireland to the assistance of his master, and entrusted its government to Raymond le Gross. Strongbow's departure was no sooner made known to the Irish, than their chieftains disavowed their submissions, and boldly hurled defiance against those of the English adventurers who presumed to remain in Ireland. The English army became mutinous and discontented, and their commanders jealous, and envious of each other. Such differences would have been fatal to the English interests in Ireland, were they not put an end to by the appointment of Strongbow to the vice-regency of Ireland. The latter, however useful an auxiliary to Henry, in his

foreign wars, was again sent to Ireland, to pursue the conquests of the British monarch in that country. Raymond le Gross, being called on by the unanimous voice of the English army, was appointed their general. He marched into Offaly. He overran and ravaged the country, and proceeded to Lismore, where he committed similar depredations. Raymond having performed illustrious military services, flattered himself that he might, without presumption, seek the sister of the viceroy in marriage. Strongbow received the overture of Raymond with coldness, and the latter, provoked and mortified, retired abruptly into Wales. The command of the English army was immediately conferred upon Harvey of Mountmorris. This general led his army against the insurgents in Meath, but not considering the force he commanded sufficiently strong, he prevailed on the viceroy to lend 400 men to join him. The latter, headed by Strongbow, proceeded on their march from Dublin, and were overtaken by O'Brien of Thomond, a valiant and intrepid Irish chieftain, who conceived the design of cutting off this reinforcement. He suffered them to encamp in careless security at Thurles, in the county of Tipperary, and falling suddenly upon them, he gave them a total overthrow. This memorable defeat was the signal for all the Irish chieftains once more to re-assert their independence. Strongbow retreated with precipitation to Waterford. His distresses obliged him to solicit the services of Raymond, who was then in Wales, and who, flattered by such an application, and such an unequivocal acknow-

ledgment of his military superiority, immediately embarked for Waterford, with thirty of his relatives, one hundred knights, and three hundred archers. The presence of this celebrated general prevented the massacre of the English who were in that city. Raymond proceeded to Wexford to meet his intended bride Basilica, the sister of the viceroy, to whom he was solemnly espoused with all the pomp and magnificence the country could afford. At the moment the nuptial rites were celebrating, the Irish monarch crossed the Shannon, entered the territory of Meath, expelled the English, and laid waste their settlements. Raymond le Gross, with Strongbow, arrived in time to check the progress of Roderic. He re-established the English settlements in Meath, and rebuilt those forts which the Irish monarch had destroyed. The spirit of disaffection was again extinguished throughout the English territories, and Strongbow turned his attention to the affairs of Munster. The prince of Thomond was then in possession of Limerick. Raymond attacked it, and plunging into the Shannon, with singular intrepidity, the soldiers followed him, and carried the city by the terror which such an achievement excited in the Irish army. He enriched his soldiers by plunder, and raised his military fame still higher than it was at any former period. A new scene now opens to the reader of Irish history, which at once excites the pity and contempt of every independent mind. It may conciliate the tender and mild feelings of humanity, but it must raise the indignation, and insult

the pride of every independent Irishman. The Irish monarch, fatigued with the repeated efforts which he made to restore peace to his country, and depressed by the perfidy of his chieftains, determined at length to submit to Henry, under whom he might be able to hold his sovereignty, and to preserve his people against the afflicting calamities of war. It is almost impossible to look back to the conduct of the Irish monarch, on this occasion, without partaking of that sensibility which seemed to animate his royal bosom. Full of ardent and parental affection for his subjects, he preferred even the mortification of being the royal vassal of Henry, to making an unprofitable effort for the assertion of his sovereignty. He therefore determined on treating with the English monarch himself, and not through the medium of his generals. He sent forward his ambassadors to England, Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, the abbot of St Brandon, and Laurence, chancellor to Roderic. The terms of accommodation were agreed upon between the two monarchs. Roderic bound himself by treaty to pay an annual tribute, namely, every tenth merchantable hide, and to acknowledge the king of England as his liege lord. The Irish monarch was, by the conditions of his treaty with Henry, to enjoy the uncontrolled administration of his kingdom; his royal rights were left inviolate; the English laws were to be confined, as we have said before, to the English pale. The submission of Roderic promised days of peace to Ireland; of strength and of glory to England.

But the jealousies of Henry's generals, their ambition and their avarice, were new sources of anxiety to their king, and of distraction to his Irish subjects. Raymond le Gross (one of the most distinguished officers in the service of Henry), was impeached by Harvey of Mountmorris, and were it not that O'Brien of Thomond, the irreconcilable enemy of England, had laid siege to Limerick, Raymond would have been obliged to defend himself against the unjust and malicious charges of his enemies. He was solicited by his persecutors to lead the English army against the common enemy; he yielded, and immediately advanced against the prince of Thomond, whose army he defeated. O'Brien, exhausted by an unsuccessful contest, submitted to become the vassal of Henry; he presented his hostages, and took the oath of fealty in company with Roderic the Irish king, who also gave hostages as a security for his future allegiance. The destructive quarrels and animosities which frequently disgraced the first Irish families, again gave an opportunity to Raymond le Gross to extend his conquests in Munster. MacCarty, prince of Desmond, was deposed by his son Cormac, and fled for refuge and revenge to the English general, who instantly engaged in an enterprize which promised to extend his fame. He invaded the territories of Desmond, and plundered them without mercy;—a great portion of that part of Desmond called Kerry, was conferred by MacCarty on Raymond for this achievement. About this period (1176) the viceroy, Earl Strongbow, died. The manner of his

death is accurately described by the pen of superstitious vengeance; nor is it to be wondered by the impartial reader, of the sad variety of suffering inflicted upon Ireland, by the arms of England, that the Irish annalist should have given credit to the rumours that devoted this celebrated English adventurer to a mysterious and miserable termination of his existence. The desolation and calamity with which this unhappy country was visited, the degradation with which it was threatened, and the sad and affecting story which history was doomed to record, must have naturally called up those honest feelings of resentment which fill the bosoms of fallen pride and insulted honour. No wonder the persecuted Irish should look up to Heaven for its vengeance on their oppressors, and that their tortured fancies should anticipate the mediation of that God whose altars were insulted, and whose temples were laid prostrate.

Raymond le Gross being informed of Strongbow's death, immediately repaired to Dublin. He entrusted to Donald O'Brien, prince of Thomond, the protection of Limerick. Raymond had no sooner departed, than O'Brien declared that Limerick should no longer be a nest of foreigners. In the meantime, Strongbow was interred with the most solemn pomp in Christ church, Dublin, and the ceremonies performed by the celebrated prelate, Laurence O'Toole. Soon after, a council was called, and Raymond le Gross unanimously elected viceroy of Ireland. This election, notwithstanding the past services of Raymond, did not meet with the approbation of Henry;

he forbade the nomination, and substituted William Fitzansdelm, a nobleman allied to Henry by blood. John de Courcy, Robert Fitzstephen, Milo de Cogan, and Vivian, the pope's legate, accompanied the viceroy to Ireland. The legate was the bearer of the pope's brief, confirming Henry's title to Ireland. Raymond received the new viceroy with all due respect. An assembly of the Irish clergy was convened at Waterford, at which the brief of Alexander, and the bull of Adrian, were solemnly promulgated. This assembly of the clergy took place in the year 1177. The administration of Fitzansdelm seemed to be more directed against his predecessors in power, than to the extension of his royal master's interests. Giraldus Cambrensis says, that he was sensual and corrupt, rapacious and avaricious; and though not formidable from the terror of his arms, yet full of craft, of fraud, and dissimulation. Raymond le Gross was thrown into the shade, his property exchanged, and every mark of indignity and insult offered to those adventurers who had succeeded in making the first English establishment in Ireland. The north of Ireland was now marked out by the English adventurers as a scene of plunder and confiscation, which would afford ample rewards to the spirit of heroic enterprise, and ample compensation for the hardships and difficulties to be contended with. The cruel and rapacious De Courcy selected the north as the theatre of his military fame. He was the first to visit its inhabitants with the calamities of war, and the more disastrous effects of foreign intrigue, with do-

mestic treachery. Astonished and confounded at the horrid outrages committed by those unprovoked invaders, they abandoned their habitations, and, for some time, made but a feeble resistance to their persecutors. At length the people collected, and appeared in arms under their prince; and in a short time De Courcy was doomed to trace back his sanguinary steps with mortification, and give up those places which his cruelty had desolated. Such were the persecutions of De Courcy, that Vivian, the pope's legate, who accompanied this English leader to Ireland, and was the bearer of the bull for its annexation to England, could no longer restrain his indignation, and boldly stimulated the Irish to fly to their arms. An Irish army was immediately collected, and marched against De Courcy; who, depending on the discipline and experience of his troops, advanced to meet the tumultuous Irish forces. The northern Irish fought many severe and obstinate battles, before they yielded to the superior skill of the English general. In one of those, Murtough O'Carrol, chieftain of Oriel, or Louth, particularly distinguished himself. He attacked De Courcy in his camp, and almost destroyed his entire force, within his own entrenchments. While John de Courcy was thus wasting the beautiful province of Ulster with fire and sword, Milo de Cogan marched into Connaught, to support the rebellion of Murrough, son of Roderic O'Connor. Such was the dreadful impression which these visits of the English adventurers made on the Irish mind

that on the approach of Milo de Cogan, the inhabitants drove away the cattle, secreted their most valuable effects, and reduced their country to a desert. It was the practice of the Irish to deposite provisions in their churches, where, amidst all their domestic quarrels, they lay secure, as in a sanctuary. To the English those consecrated temples were not more sacred nor more respected than any other place where treasure might be secreted—all were indiscriminately destroyed. The Irish of the west determined to anticipate the fury of their invaders. They prostrated their churches, destroyed the property they could not carry away, and left the country to be invaded without human sustenance or shelter. This policy succeeded—the English were compelled to a mortifying and disgraceful retreat. They abandoned their ally, Murrough, to an ignominious fate, and regained their quarters in Dublin, after an unsuccessful effort to plunder an unoffending people.

Nothing can so much excite the indignation of an honest or feeling heart, as the insolent reflections of the English historians, on the miserable feuds and animosities which, they say, disgraced all parts of this most devoted country. “Even,” say they, “the presence of the invading enemy could not unite those infatuated people: it could not obliterate the impressions of domestic jealousy, and family rivalship.” May it not be asked, ‘what so calculated to keep alive those distracting divisions, as the hope of foreign support to domestic treachery; what so much as the distribution of foreign

gold, the artifices of foreign policy, the intrigues of English fraud, and the insatiable ambition of English adventurers? What treacherous or rebellious child could not find an asylum in the arms of an English general? Or what bad or malignant passion would not the breath of English ambition blow into a flame, when such a policy extended the triumphs of their arms, increased the wealth of their families, and gratified the ambition of their monarch? It is not to be wondered that we should see so much treachery, and so much mutual bloodshed; that father and son should draw their swords against each other, and that the nobler virtues of humanity should have been lost in the conflict of those malignant passions which found protection and encouragement in the destructive policy of England. Much better had the sword annihilated every Irish arm which was willing to defend the liberties of the country, than to wade through centuries of a lingering struggle, in which nothing is to be seen but courage betrayed on one side, and ambition sanguinary and insatiable on the other; an innocent and brave people contending for their families, their properties, their altars, and their liberties, against the unprincipled machinations of English adventurers, whose motive was plunder, whose pretext was religion and social order, and whose achievements were marked with the bravery of the midnight robber, who exposes his life to satiate his passions, and estimates his heroism by the atrocity of his courage, and the fearless contempt of the laws of God, and civilized society. Such are the reflec-

tions which must occur to every mind, not rendered callous by corruption, or not sacrificing his conviction to the hired purposes of the moment at which he is writing the history of his country.

The complaints against the viceroy Fitzansdelm, having reached the ears of Henry, the latter removed him from the government of Ireland. Hugh de Lacy was appointed to succeed the late viceroy; an active and vigorous officer, well calculated to extend the power of his master.

His administration was marked with a spirit of equity, to which the Irish were unaccustomed since England first invaded their shores. It atoned, in some degree, for the violence and injustice of those who preceded him. In this year (1178) Henry constituted his son John, lord of Ireland: this prince never assumed any other title. He also made grants of large portions of Irish territory to his principal generals. The power with which John was now invested by his father, seemed to supersede the treaty made by Henry with the Irish monarch, and John was now what Roderic stipulated to be. The adventurers to whom Henry had made large grants of Irish territory, were resisted, when endeavouring to take possession of them. The present possessors were unconscious of any act which could justify the English monarch to expel them from their properties. They therefore unanimously resisted the bold and despotic order, and compelled their despoilers to the surrender of claims so unjust and so indefensible. The mild spirit of Hugh de Lacy's administration was not very congenial to the

feelings of his English companions in arms ; and secret whispers and calumnious insinuations were communicated to Henry against the fidelity and allegiance of the viceroy. Hugh de Lacy was recalled ; but, on investigation, the charge against his administration was found to be malicious and unfounded, and Henry immediately restored him to power. While Hugh de Lacy was endeavouring, by the mild and efficient measures of a humane and equitable system, to preserve the English power in Leinster, De Courcy was desolating Ulster with fire and sword.—The Irish exhibited in their battles with the English leaders, an heroism worthy of men fighting for their liberties and properties ; and under Murtough O'Carrol, reduced De Courcy and his veteran troops to the most disastrous extremities. The English government succeeded in keeping alive, throughout the south and west, the most desperate spirit of faction among the principal Irish families, and thus conquered by division with more effect than by the sword. According to Henry's treaty with the Irish monarch, the former was bound to support him against his rebellious vassals. Such a policy, however, would have been considered but little calculated to extend the English power ; and we therefore see the opportunity warmly cherished by Henry, to widen the breach between Roderic and his subjects, and thus take advantage of divisions which must ultimately extinguish the country.—About this period (1181) died Laurence O'Toole, the prelate of Dublin ; a man illustrious for his conscientious hatred of English oppression ;

his unconquerable spirit in defence of his country ; his enthusiastic attachment to her interests ; his honest indignation at the calamities with which she was afflicted ; and his unwearied efforts to obtain justice for her wrongs, and punishment against her persecutors.—When he was obliged by force to submit to the English monarch, his sympathy for the sufferings of his country did not diminish ; he frequently remonstrated against the practices of his English subjects, and at length appealed to the council of Lateran against the persecutions of England. So formidable were his representations, that Henry would not suffer him to return to his native land. He was succeeded in the archbishopric of Dublin by an Englishman, named John Comyn ; a man, it may be anticipated, remarkable for qualities of an opposite character to the humane and lamented O'Toole. While the English historians feel gratification in relating those circumstances of our history, calculated to humble the Irish character, and while they anxiously seize the pen to paint those scenes in which Irish vengeance frequently gained the ascendancy over the native benignity of the Irish heart—be it my office to set down those anecdotes which elevate my countrymen, and record those characters who command the veneration of posterity. It is a source of melancholy reflection, that a modern Irish historian * of talents is to be found, and living in an age of liberality and refinement, to echo those tales which were fabricated, perhaps, by malice ; or which, if ever they had any

* Mr Leland.

foundation in fact, may be palliated by the exasperations with which this devoted people were cruelly visited.

The most determined calumniator of the Irish character now came to Ireland by order of Henry, as the adviser and historian to his son John, who, created Lord of Ireland, was immediately to follow. This celebrated historian of falsehood and malignity, Giraldus Cambrensis, or Gerald Barry, inflated with all the pride of the conqueror, and the more disgusting petulance of the pedagogue, came to Ireland with the predetermined purpose of mocking and insulting the misery the arms of his master had inflicted. We find him constantly engaged in the most irritating controversies with the Irish clergy, wounding their patriotic feelings by his arrogance, and insulting them by his menaces—yet this is the authority which some Irish historians will follow, when writing the history of the English invasion of Ireland.

Ireland was now about to be sacrificed to another whim of the English monarch. He again removed De Lacy from the government, and substituted Philip de Braosa, or Philip of Worcester: a man of furious and vindictive temper, voracious and insatiable, whose object was plunder, and whose means to obtain it were fraud and violence. The Irish clergy were the victims of his avarice, and their churches the object of his unlimited rapacity. The governor was at length obliged to surrender his administration to young prince John, son of the English monarch; who, being knighted by his

father, proceeded to Ireland with a train of Norman courtiers, and dissolute and abandoned bankrupt adventurers, who, desperate in their fortunes, transported themselves to Ireland, as the last refuge from the persecutions of their difficulties. Glenvil, the celebrated lawyer, also accompanied prince John. The royal retinue arrived at Waterford in the latter end of the year 1185, when they were received with the accustomed hospitality of the Irish. The courtly and delicate companions of the young prince, astonished at the foreign and warlike appearance of their Irish visitors, indiscriminately yielded to those sentiments of contempt and abhorrence which the savage would have excited. They thoughtlessly practised on the Irish chieftains, of whose hospitality they were partaking, the most insulting indignities. Such treatment roused the Irish to furious courage, and had the extraordinary effect of extinguishing the voice of faction, obliterating domestic jealousies, and uniting every heart and arm of the country.

The flame of national resentment spread through every county, and one unanimous determination prevailed, to liberate Ireland from the insolent oppressors of their rights. The English were attacked in all their strongest positions, and the most signal ravage inflicted on the violators of the national pride of Ireland. Thus the administration of this inexperienced and insolent prince had nearly destroyed the hopes of England, when Henry ordered De Courcy to take into his hands the reins of administration. Hugh de Lacy fell a victim

about this period, to the knife of the assassin, who, historians say, was found among his own countrymen ; and it may be truly said, that the wisdom of his mercy did more to extend the English power in Ireland, than the most determined valour of Henry's best generals. De Courcy was considered by the British monarch best qualified to succeed De Lacy. The whole country was now torn with civil war ; the fury of faction facilitating the progress of the invader's sword.

The Irish monarch, unable and unwilling to make any further efforts in stemming the torrent which threatened to sweep away every vestige of Ireland's glory, retired, in despondency and sorrow, to the solitude and protection of a convent. His unnatural children triumphed over an indulgent father, and the nominal sovereignty of Ireland was doomed again to be disputed by the most furious competition.

The viceroy endeavoured to take advantage of the feuds of the Irish, and confidently and incautiously marched his forces into Connaught. Such a step had the effect of uniting the Irish chieftains of the West, who assembled their forces, and compelled the viceroy to measure back his hasty and imprudent steps. De Courcy lost his most distinguished officers in this rash adventure.

This victory over the English, if followed up, would have annihilated their power in Ireland ; but the victories of the Irish were almost always the sources of new divisions among themselves, and of new hopes to their enemies. Party spirit destroy-

ed the spirit of perseverance, overthrew the operations of system, and rendered it impossible for the most undaunted heroism to complete an achievement, always bravely commenced. Such was the situation of Ireland when Henry died.

The character of this monarch, as far as that character can be drawn from his conduct towards Ireland, may be described in a very few words ;—cruel, and humane, according to the expediency of either to promote his speculations of conquest. As the extension of his power in Ireland was the grand object of his ambition, he little considered the morality and integrity of the means by which he was to obtain its possession. He was careless about the reproaches of the humane or the just, and deaf to every monitor, but that which could facilitate his conquests, and minister to his avarice of plunder. The cries of an unoffending and innocent nation reached his ears in vain. He answered those cries by the sword, or by fraud ; and heard the accusation of the usurper and destroyer of Irish rights without compassion, and without pity, even in those parts of Ireland which submitted to his arms.

We have seen that the English monarch practised towards his English subjects the same duplicity, and the same cunning, which distinguishes his first operations in Ireland. He deprived his English colony of the administration of De Lacy, because it was mild and merciful, and parental ; and he substituted De Courcy, because he was cruel, and vindictive, and unprincipled. The same appre-

hensions which Henry's successors have always entertained least Irishmen should be united, operated on the mind of Henry against the union of the first English settlers in Ireland. The adventurers who first devoted their lives and fortunes to the conquest of Ireland, he discouraged; and changed his governors and generals, whenever he suspected they had obtained the confidence of the Irish, either by their courage, or their wisdom. A model of the same unprincipled and varying system of politics which has distinguished the English government in their administration of Irish affairs for the last century, may be found in the uncertain policy of Henry towards his English colony.

Giraldus Cambrensis, Mathew Paris, and a crowd of defamers of the Irish character, labour to prove that the treaty between Henry and Roderic amounted to the conquest of Ireland; and that when the Irish monarch volunteered in becoming the tributary of Henry, he surrendered his Irish crown, and became the subject of England. "The calumny can be best replied to," says the ingenious Dr Campbell, "by taking into consideration the difference between subjects and tributaries. A tributary is not a subject, but a vassal who stipulates to pay tribute, and perhaps do homage and swear fealty to a superior power, that he may live in peace. A sovereign may be tributary to a more potent sovereign, without obeying any of his ordinances; that is, he may acknowledge his own inferiority by these tokens of submission, yet retain his sovereignty over his subjects, without owning any other

duty to his liege lord." This was precisely the case of Ireland before Henry set foot in this kingdom, and after he departed from it. The provincial kings paid tribute to the monarch, and the subordinate toparchs to the provincial kings, without any diminution of their jurisdiction over their respective subjects.

Roderic the monarch did not submit to Henry during his stay in Ireland; but in a year or two after he volunteered to do homage, and swear fealty, and resigned by deed the sovereignty of certain districts, that he might enjoy the remainder. This is placed beyond doubt by the "*Finis et Concordia*," that final agreement made between them at Windsor, wherein it is expressly stipulated, that except in those districts he had surrendered, the jurisdiction of Roderic was to remain undiminished over the rest of the island, "*totam illam terram*," and "*habitationes terræ habeat subse*." Thus was Roderic pledged to make the vassal princes pay their tribute to himself, and through his hand it was to be conveyed to Henry: so that Roderic no more ceased to be monarch of Ireland, than he did to be king of Connaught. To those who have read the triumphant arguments of Mr Molyneaux, in his inestimable tract, called "*The Case of Ireland*," or the fourth Drapier's letter, by our immortal countryman Swift, little need be urged to demonstrate the fallacy and folly of the assertion that Henry II. conquered the kingdom of Ireland.

We have devoted more time to the reign of Henry II. than such a work as the present would, per-

haps, have warranted ; but, as the circumstances which crowd the reign of this monarch are, for the most part, re-acted in many of the reigns which are to follow, and as the policy acted upon by the first English invaders of Ireland has been industriously imitated by his successors, it was deemed useful and instructive to detail more particularly the events of a reign which opened a scene of misery and distraction to Ireland, which even the lapse of six hundred years has not yet terminated.*

* “ Had it not been,” says Sir William Temple, “ for circumstances prejudicial to the increase of trade and riches in a country, and which seem natural, or at least, to have been ever incident to the government of Ireland, the native fertility of the Irish soil and seas, in so many rich commodities, improved by a multitude of people and industry, with the advantage of so many excellent havens, and a situation so commodious for all foreign trade, must needs have rendered the kingdom one of the richest in Europe, and made a mighty increase both of strength and revenue to the Crown of England.”

“ Ireland,” says Mr Brown, an intelligent writer in the commencement of the last century, “ is, in respect of its situation, the number of its commodious harbours, and the natural wealth which it produces, the fittest island to acquire riches of any in the European seas. For, as by its situation, it lies the most commodious for the West Indies, so it is not only supplied by nature with all the necessaries of life, but can, over and above, export large quantities to foreign countries, insomuch that had it been mistress of a free trade, no nation in Europe of its extent could in an equal number of years acquire greater wealth.” Such is the testimony of the greatest enemies, as well as the best friends of Ireland, yet how abused have been the bounties of God !

The friends of Ireland, and the ardent supporters of British connection, credulously hoped that the year 1782 would have been the commencement of an æra of peace and happiness, and

independence to their country, and of harmony and strength to the empire :—that the two countries, united by a free constitution, would also be united in mutual affection and respect ; that the wealth and prosperity of each would have been considered the wealth and prosperity of both ; that all further causes of jealousy were removed, and that one common sentiment of sincere attachment to the English constitution would have pervaded all parts of the empire.

These hopes, however just and reasonable, were doomed to be frustrated by the presiding genius of discord, which has perpetually governed English counsels with regard to Ireland. The confidence reposed by the Catholic in the liberality of his Protestant fellow-citizen, the growing prosperity of the country, alarmed the avaricious and contracted policy of the British cabinet, and Ireland was again doomed to be the victim of schemes of oppression, and new arrangements of cunning and insincerity.

Irishmen were again to be divided, in order to be plundered of their liberty, secured to them by the pledged faith of England ; and the Union was to be the closing act of that bloody tragedy which extinguished our freedom. Irishmen of rank and property were to be seen carried down the stream of British deception, and idly and infamously administering to the views and the stratagems of the English minister, conspirators against their own consequence, and the degraded betrayers of the rights and character of their country. The policy of Mr Pitt was not more liberal than the policy of Henry II., and the same frauds and violence which were practised against Ireland in the 12th, were acted over again, with equal malignity and success, in the 18th century.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

RICHARD I.

THE reign of Richard I. was too much devoted to prosecution of the holy wars, which, at this period, almost depopulated Europe ; and this monarch was so distinguished as the great and illustrious leader of those fanatical and destructive expeditions, we are not to wonder that we find him not only regardless of his own country, but completely indifferent to his Irish dominions, and to that authority which his brother John continued to exercise therein.

The deputies appointed to govern in Ireland, were chosen by John ; and the style and title always assumed by the latter, was Earl of Morton and Lord of Ireland. To Dublin, he gave new franchises and increased immunities, and the same scene which has wearied our eyes in the last reign, presents itself again to us in the present, the build-

ing of churches in one part, while plunder and devastation are making their baneful progress in another—the destruction of Irish convents and monasteries, and the erection of new convents and monasteries, with English monks devoted to the English interests.

We find the authority of John solely confined to those parts immediately possessed by the Irish. Satisfied with the exercise of those safe duties of raising monasteries and forts in various parts of his Irish dominions, John retired to England, and entrusted his Irish administration to the younger De Lacy ; an appointment which excited the jealousy and resentment of the late viceroy, De Courcy. This indignant English baron retired to Ulster, separated from his countrymen, and determined to confine himself to the promotion of his own personal interest and ambitious views, unaided and unsupported by England. Such was the weakness of the English government, that they were unable to punish the rebellion of De Courcy, or restrain the dangerous spirit of rivalry which, at this period, distinguished the British adventurers.

A new and powerful enemy arose in the west of Ireland, animated with the vindictive spirit of his family, and an ardent ambition for military glory : He vowed the most implacable vengeance against the English, who had desolated with fire and sword the fairest and most fertile parts of Ireland, and were then threatening to reduce the entire country to a degrading subjection.—This formidable Irish chieftain was named CATHAL THE BLOODY-HANDED.

Possessed of all those qualities which could recommend him to a brave people, they followed Cathal to the field with confidence, and obeyed him with alacrity. De Courcy, alarmed at the progress of this furious and vindictive Irish chieftain, ordered his friend and adviser, Armoric of St Laurence, to march without delay and join his forces. Armoric being obliged to pass through a part of Cathal's territories, was intercepted; and, after a furious engagement, in which he and his troops peculiarly distinguished themselves, his brave though small detachment was annihilated. This partial defeat was the signal for universal insurrections and confederacies among the Irish; and the misery of the nation was peculiarly aggravated by a destructive fire, which, at this period, consumed the greater part of Dublin. Cathal the bloody-handed, animated by the late triumph of his arms, roused the surrounding chieftains to the assertion of their country's rights; and Daniel O'Brien, prince of Thomond, gained an important victory over the English at Thurles.

The arms of this celebrated chieftain were at length repulsed, and his territories, with those of the prince of Desmond, were over-run by the English, who, in their progress, practised the most barbarous cruelties. They put out the eyes of the young prince of Thomond, and tearing his brother from the sanctuary in which he concealed himself, they put him to a cruel and lingering death. Cathal, the king of Connaught, took ample and immediate vengeance on the enemies of his country.

He entered Munster at the head of a powerful army, ravaged the English castles, drove the English army before him, and, had he followed up his victory, would perhaps have expelled those adventurers from Ireland. But such was not to be the Irish destiny. For her, the Irish hero seemed to be born in vain. The victories of a province or a county, were considered by the bravest and most renowned Irish chieftain as the victory of Ireland, and the expulsion of the English from their respective territories, satisfied the vengeance, and completed the ambition of the Irish chiefs. Cathal, content with this partial defeat of his enemies, retired to his kingdom of Connaught, and thus disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation. The English had no sooner restored the castles and forts which Cathal had destroyed, and repaired the injuries which his armies had inflicted on their territories, than they were again attacked by MacCarthy of Desmond, who drove them out of Limerick, and twice baffled their efforts to recover this important station. Cork, the best and most considerable port in Munster now occupied by the English, would have fallen into the hands of the Irish, had it not been for the fatal jealousies which existed between the rival Irish chieftains, Cathal, the king of Connaught, and O'Laughlin, chief of the ancient house of the northern Hi-Nial. The military fame of Cathal awoke the envy of the northern prince, whose pride of genealogy was insulted by the acknowledged superiority of his ally in arms. He contrived, therefore, by a secret in

trigue with MacCarty, to raise the siege of Cork, and the fate of the second strongest English settlement in Ireland was for the present suspended. At length, in want of provision, and hopeless of succour, this brave garrison surrendered to the prince of Desmond. Nothing can demonstrate the miserable weakness of the English government in Ireland at this period more than the feeble efforts that were made to preserve the most important places in the kingdom. Notwithstanding the infatuated divisions which distracted the councils of the Irish chieftains, the English suffered themselves to be deprived of all those conquests, which cost them so much treasure in the acquisition.

Hamo de Valois was now (1197) appointed viceroy of Ireland. The English interest, since the invasion, was never weaker than at this moment—even the province of Leinster was with difficulty maintained. Hamo had recourse to the only measure which he thought calculated to restore the arms and strength of England. He seized the lands granted to the see of Dublin; plundered the Irish, whose properties were considerable, under the protecting plea of necessity; accumulated all the treasure his rapacity could embrace.—Comyn, the English archbishop, expostulated against this act of usurpation, in loud and bitter lamentations; threatened the denunciations of the church, and appealed to the British monarch, and the lord of Ireland for redress. Comyn appealed in vain. Richard and John were deaf to his entreaties; but in some years after, Hamo de Valois gave to the arch-

bishop some compensation for the property of which he was despoiled. During this scene of disaster, Roderic, the Irish monarch, died in the monastery of Cong, where he resided for twelve years in the peace and tranquillity of a pious solitude. Were we to regulate our opinions of the character of Roderic by the estimation in which his country held him, we should describe him as a great warrior, a humane and tender prince, possessing all those good and amiable qualities which are calculated to inspire us with reverence and affection; but looking back to the history of the events which we have been relating, it is not easy to discern those distinguishing characteristics for which the Irish annalists have celebrated him. It should be admitted, however, that great allowances are to be made for the distraction of mind created by the unnatural rebellion of his own children, as well as by the nature of the authority which the constitution of his country enabled him to exercise over those provincial sovereigns whom he brought out to the field with him, uncertain in their allegiance, and whimsical in their support of the common cause. The virtues of the monarch were often sacrificed to the painful peculiarity of his situation; and during this struggle with England, we have often as much cause to commiserate the distress of an amiable mind, as we have to applaud its undaunted spirit, and indefatigable exertion for the independence of Ireland. The last hours of his long life were somewhat cheered by the reflection, that at length a hero amidst the distractions of his family, whose genius promised to

obliterate the disgraceful impressions of the past, by the glorious achievements of the future ; and the Irish monarch, in his ninety-ninth year, sunk into the grave, consoled and comforted by the hope, that Cathal was destined by Providence to restore the liberty and pride of his country, and to exterminate the foreign invader, who struggled to enslave it. In this year also, died the English monarch, to whom John, the lord of Ireland, succeeded, bringing with him to the English throne, those rights over Ireland with which he had been invested.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

JOHN.

THE first act of the British monarch, when he came to the throne, was to yield to the complaints of his Irish subjects, against the oppression of his viceroy, Hamo de Valois, who was amassing considerable wealth from the plunder of the clergy and laity under his immediate jurisdiction. He was succeeded by Meyler Fitzhenry, natural son of Henry I. and one of the most distinguished barons who had originally adventured into Ireland.

Hugh de Lacy, and John de Courcy, two of the most powerful of the English settlers in Ireland, had for some time assumed a state of complete independence of the English monarch. De Courcy impeached the title of John to the English crown, asserted the claims of Arthur, and boldly renounced his allegiance to England. Philip de Burgo, to whom John, when lord of Ireland, made a grant of Limerick, proceeded to form a settlement in

Munster, which threatened the destruction of Cathal's authority in the kingdom of Connaught.

Cathal, from whose arms and valour so much was expected by the Irish, fell a victim to the intriguing practices of his enemies, and the artful conspiracy of Carragh O'Connor, a prince of his blood, who made overtures to Philip de Burgo, and with his co-operation expelled Cathal from his dominions, and took possession of the royal dignity of Connaught. Such a revolution was heard with astonishment, and Cathal fled to O'Nial of Tyrone for protection against the arms of the usurper. A confederacy was immediately formed to effect the restoration of Cathal; and it is worthy of observation, that, in this confederation, we see the English lords, De Courcy and De Lacy, engaged with O'Nial, to assert the claims of Cathal against the usurpations of Carragh O'Connor, supported by the arms of another English lord, Philip de Burgo. So various and so conflicting were the interests of parties and factions in Ireland, and so reduced the English power, that Englishmen are to be seen shedding the blood of Englishmen in the cause of the rival chieftains of Ireland.

Battles were fought by those contending factions with various success, till at length victory declared in favour of the usurper, Carragh O'Connor, and Philip de Burgo. O'Nial was deposed by his subjects, and the powers of De Burgo were greatly increased by the triumph of his arms. He also forgot his allegiance to his sovereign, and made war and peace by his proper authority. He laid waste

the territories of Desmond, and obliged many of the neighbouring chieftains to pay him tribute.

The deposed Cathal having succeeded in separating Philip de Burgo from his alliance with the usurper, Carragh O'Connor, and supported by the arms of the English baron, recovered his kingdom of Connaught. Cathal returned the services of Philip de Burgo with the basest ingratitude; he refused to perform his promises of large and valuable accessions of territory, which he made to the English baron, when pressed by adverse fortune; and the latter having recourse to arms, to enforce Cathal's adherence to his engagements, was obliged to make a dishonourable retreat.

In the mean time the viceroy, Meyler Fitzhenry, having raised a considerable force, determined to reduce to subjection those English barons, who had appeared in arms against his royal master. He proceeded first to Limerick, against De Burgo; and the sword of the viceroy was no sooner unsheathed, than the king of Connaught, and O'Brien of Thomond, immediately made him a tender of their services; prompted more by the mean desire to humble the common enemy, Philip de Burgo, than intimidated by the threats or the arms of Meyler Fitzhenry. Limerick was besieged, and Philip de Burgo, having no hopes of making an efficient resistance, surrounded on all sides by his enemies, capitulated to the viceroy. Cathal's submission to the British monarch on this occasion was most important; being no less than two parts of his kingdom of Connaught, absolutely, and to pay one hun-

dred marks for the other part. The spirit of resistance to king John, which at this period distinguished the English barons in England, animated with equal zeal the bosoms of their countrymen in Ireland ; they were equally indignant at his oppression and his cruelty. The Baron de Courcy, yielding to the natural sincerity of his character, loudly exclaimed against his sovereign. Hugh de Lacy, more artful, suppressed his indignation ; and, affecting a zealous loyalty, gave secret information of the thoughtless and hasty expressions of his countryman. John summoned De Courcy to appear before him.—De Courcy treated the summons with contempt.—De Lacy was ordered by his sovereign to reduce this refractory vassal to obedience. The result of the various battles fought by those English barons was the submission of De Courcy, on condition of obtaining a safe conduct to England. A romantic and idle tale is told of the feats and achievements of this celebrated English adventurer. He was condemned by king John to perpetual imprisonment ; and, as English historians relate, was released from prison to enter the lists with a champion of Philip, king of France, whom that monarch sent to England to assert his master's claim to Normandy ; or, as others say, to some castle of this province. The stern aspect, the enormous giant-size, the notorious strength of De Courcy, are said to have alarmed the French champion, who declined the combat, and fled into Spain. He exhibited before the English monarch extraordinary proofs of bodily strength, for which he obtained his liberty,

and regained the possession of his extensive properties. John further granted to De Courcy, and to his heirs, the privilege of standing covered in their first audience with the king of England. Upon the death of this celebrated baron, the earldom of Ulster was conferred by John upon Hugh de Lacy. The latter, with the viceroy, Meyler Fitzhenry, were about this period called over to England to defend their monarch against the increasing combinations of his enemies. In addition to the numberless embarrassments by which the British king was pressed, he was also involved in a contest with the pope, relative to the election of the prelate of Armagh. The Irish clergy, encouraged by the Roman pontiff, proceeded to elect a countryman of their own, Eugene, as successor to Thomas O'Connor, late prelate of Armagh. The king forbade his Irish subjects to acknowledge Eugene as the prelate, and sent forward the archdeacon of Meath to take possession of the see of Armagh. This contest continued a long time; till, at length, it is written, that the king, soothed by a present of 300 marks of silver, and 100 of gold, consented that Eugene should be invested with all the rights of the see. The exemplary character of Eugene, his great virtues, and well-merited popularity, contributed more particularly to establish his election, than the pre-eminence of papal authority, or the corruption of the English monarch. However the latter may have come in aid of the prayers of the nation, they cannot be considered the leading

causes of the victory obtained over the pride and passions of the British sovereign.

The English interest, in the south and west of Ireland, was now (1208) considerably established and secured by the active and efficient administration of the viceroy, Meyler Fitzhenry, and scarcely a power remained in Ireland sufficiently formidable to excite the reasonable apprehensions of the British monarch; but, anxious to enjoy the opportunity which would enable him to raise an army in England without offending his sturdy and independent barons, he affected to dread the growing power of the De Lacys; and, under the pretext of circumscribing their authority within reasonable bounds, marched an army into Ireland. The English monarch arrived in Dublin, in the year 1210; where not less than 20 Irish chieftains attended to do him homage. Hugh and Walter de Lacy fled to France. The Irish princes consented to pay tribute to John, but refused to invest him with their lands, resign their respective sovereignties, or accept the English laws. They always insisted upon the right of administering their own government, according to the Irish laws and customs. John brought with him the most celebrated lawyers of England; by whose counsel a regular code of laws was prepared and determined upon for Ireland, and deposited under the king's seal, in the exchequer of Dublin. The lands of Ireland, immediately in possession of the British monarch, were divided into counties, where sheriffs and other officers were appointed. Twelve counties were

established by John: Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Argial (now called Louth), Katerlagh (now called Carlow), Kilkenny, Waterford, Wexford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary.

During the three months king John remained in Ireland he was, for the most part, engaged in assimilating its laws and jurisprudence to those of England; that the two countries might be governed by the same system of legislation, as well as the same monarch.

On the departure of John, the administration of Ireland was given to John de Grey, first Bishop of Norwich; who first caused money to be coined of the same weight with that of England; and by whose vigorous and firm regulations, the English colony were able to send a large force to the assistance of John when threatened by an invasion from the king of France. It would, perhaps, be more correct to attribute the undisturbed and peaceable state of the English power in Ireland, to the mild and conciliating policy which the English councils then adopted. They found, by experience, that little was to be obtained by violence; and that much had been sacrificed. John therefore ordered his viceroy to treat his feudaries, or those Irish chieftains who had submitted to do him homage, with all respect and attention; to protect them against their rebellious vassals; and as long as they demeaned themselves with loyalty to his government, to treat them with kindness and regard. Perhaps, in accounting for this unusual extension of royal benignity, we may be permitted to observe,

that the patriotic and successful struggles of the English barons against the unjust pretensions of their monarch, may have inclined the latter to court the allegiance of his Irish subjects by kind and parental concessions. The history of mankind demonstrates, that the liberties of a nation only rise as their governments have been weakened and humbled; and that the people have always found the surest refuge in the adversity of the monarch. To protect the crown against the insolent and usurping demands of aristocracy, the former has had recourse to the people; and the consequence of all has been usually promoted by the alternate rise and decline of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Cathal, the prince of Connaught, was thus protected by John against his vassals, and a present of costly robes was delivered by the viceroy to each Irish chieftain, as a mark of favour and protection. Some historians have supposed, that the object of the present was to seduce the Irish to the wearing of English attire, and to an assimilation of dress with that of the people to whom they were united. John was now engaged in that disgraceful and memorable transaction which stains his memory and country; namely, his abject submission to the Pope, and his resignation of the kingdoms of England and Ireland to the see of Rome. In return for this act of national debasement, Pope Innocent addressed a letter to the prelates and princes of Ireland, commanding them, by his apostolical mandate, to persevere in their allegiance to the king and his heirs, who were now the objects

of his parental protection. The celebrated contest between the British monarch and his barons immediately followed these transactions; and the *Magna Charta*, or the great charter of English freedom, was signed by a reluctant king, in the presence of his armed subjects, at Runnimead. This sacred instrument, so deservedly the object of British veneration, gave freedom only to the clergy, the barons, and the gentry of England: it did not abolish slavery among the great body of the people. A long interval elapsed, before they enjoyed a free and impartial constitution.

On this memorable occasion, Ireland, (or rather the English colony in Ireland) was forgotten or unnoticed, nor was any concession obtained by the English barons in this country, until the commencement of the reign of Henry III., when we find them petitioning for the removal of those grievances, which they suffered so severely under the reign of his father, and a cessation of that violence, which he so wantonly practised, in the confiscation and plunder of their properties, the levying exorbitant taxes, and the practice of every mode of oppression which his avarice could suggest.

They also prayed that the queen-dowager, or the king's brother, should reside in Ireland. To this petition, a most gracious answer was given by Henry. He declared "*That the same liberties which have been granted to his subjects of England, shall be extended to his subjects in Ireland.*" Thus were the rights and privileges of the English colony in Ireland, or of those Irish who had submitted to

England, ascertained and confirmed. All the advantages of a free constitution, were hereafter to be enjoyed by the English colony, and their descendants, in as full and as ample a manner as their countrymen in England, who succeeded in their glorious struggles with their king for the assertion of human right, and laid the foundation in their great charter of the future glory and splendour of the English nation.—The English monarch at length fell a victim to the indignation of his insulted and injured subjects. It is said he died of a broken heart, after a useless and destructive struggle against the liberty of his country.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

HENRY III.

No event of importance took place in the first year of Henry III. (1216). The acknowledged vigour and ability of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, who was appointed protector during the minority of Henry, prevented the recurrence of those distractions in the English colony, which we have witnessed in the reign of John, and which were nigh undermining the English interests in Ireland. The celebrated Henry de Londres, who was branded with the name of "Burn-Bill," was appointed coadjutor to Geoffry de Maurisco, in the administration of Ireland. He was also made archbishop of Dublin; and in his ecclesiastical, as well as political character, was remarkable for his insolence and tyranny. He summoned the tenants of his see to produce the instruments by which they held their lands; which he no sooner received, under the pretence of examining them, than, in an affect-

ed passion, he cast them into the fire. Hence the ignominious title of Burn-Bill, which ever adhered to him.

“ A striking example,” says Mr Leland, “ of the contempt with which the rights of the subject in Ireland were treated in those times, by the more powerful of the neighbouring kingdom.”

On the death of the earl of Pembroke, who possessed most extensive estates in Ireland, and whose character seemed to awe into silence and submission, the vicious passions of the colonists, Hugh de Lacy immediately laid claim to some lands held by that distinguished Englishman.

The son of the earl of Pembroke proceeded to Ireland, to defend his inheritance against de Lacy, and both, after wasting the territories of each other, and sacrificing the innocent inhabitants of Leinster and Meath, terminated their idle and sanguinary efforts by mutual concessions. In the mean time new rebellions sprung up in the country of the MacCartys, against whom the viceroy was obliged to draw the sword. Donald O'Brien, of Thomond, to defend himself against the Irish, on one side, and the English colonists on the other, petitioned, and obtained from Henry, a grant of the kingdom of Thomond, now called Clare, to be held of the English king, at a yearly rent of L.100, and a fine of 1000 marks.

This low and humble tribute seems to be rather the evidence of the homage which was to be rendered, than of the measure of value of the county conceded. Henry, at this period, also granted to

Richard de Burgo, the reversion of the whole kingdom of Connaught, on the decease of Cathal, the bloody-handed. With so little attention to justice were the poor people of this country handled, from one adventurer to another, to gratify* the avarice of a favourite, or appease the vengeance of an enemy. The death of the celebrated Cathal, gave Richard de Burgo an opportunity to plead the grant of his sovereign; but the Irish would not depart from their old customs, and proceeded to elect a successor.

The prince of Ulster interposed, and assisted Turlough, the brother of Cathal, in the assertion of his right to the crown of Connaught. The viceroy led an army into the latter kingdom; and by the triumphs of his arms, substituted the son of Cathal in the sovereignty of the west. The encroachments of the colonists on the territories of this prince, established by their interposition, were so intolerable as to oblige him to take up arms. After a desolating struggle, he surrendered to the

* Notwithstanding the distractions with which the Irish mind must have been oppressed, during this melancholy predatory warfare, it is some consolation to find mention made of the great learning with which some of our countrymen were then distinguished. We meet in our annals many names eminent for the extent of their literature—among those was the celebrated Cornelius, called Historicus; of whom Bale and Stanihurst make honourable mention. He was the great source from which future historians collected the materials of their work. His *Multarum rerum Chronicon*, is referred to by the old authors, English and Scotch, with the most implicit reliance on the soundness and fidelity of his statements.

viceroy. Fedlim, or Phelim, the second son of Cathal, succeeded his brother, and repelled, with dreadful effect, the struggles of the English to subdue him. The Irish prince* had recourse to an expedient, which strongly establishes the truth of the complaint, that the people of this country were eternally the victims of calumny : of a party interested in concealing the grievances under which they laboured ; or, in magnifying the reasonable resistance of violated right into wanton rebellion, and causeless insurrection. Phelim, of Connaught,

* So true is the remark of Sir John Davis, " That the people of Ireland merited far different treatment from the Crown of England : for," he continues, " when they were admitted to the condition of subjects, they gave many signal proofs of their dutifulness and obedience ; and would gladly continue in that condition, as long as they might be protected, and justly governed, without oppression on the one hand, or impunity on the other ; there being, in his opinion, no nation under the sun that did love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or that would rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it were against themselves ; so as they might have the protection and benefit of the law, when upon a just cause they did desire it." — " I dare affirm," says the same liberal and enlightened Englishman, who was Attorney-General to James I. " that for the space of five years last past, there have not been found so many malefactors, worthy of death, in all the six circuits of this realm, (Ireland,) which is now divided into thirty-six shires at large, as in one circuit of six shires, namely, the western circuit of England. For the truth is, that in times of peace, the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English, or any other nation whatever." Is not this a good lecture to those legislators who recommend the fiery decisions of martial law, in preference to the sober and impartial inquiry of a constitutional tribunal, whenever a disturbance exists, or a grievance is to be remedied.

addressed himself to the king of England, and represented in respectful and pathetic terms, the persecutions which his people had suffered from the representative of his majesty ; that he was driven, by injury, to rebellion ; that he was the victim of the avarice of his English subjects ; and that he challenged his enemies to an inquiry into the truth of the charges which he brought against them before the common parent of the colonists and the native Irish. So sad and so affecting a story excited the astonishment of Henry, who had been listening to exaggerated accounts of Irish treason ; to whom Phelim had been represented as the head and cause of an unnatural rebellion, without provocation or injury, laying waste the territories of his majesty's subjects, and exciting the people of Ireland to universal resistance. In answer to Phelim's humble petition, praying an interview with the British sovereign, the latter writes a letter to the viceroy, desiring him to inquire into the statement made by Phelim ; and to ascertain the real situation of Ireland. " To guard against deception," writes the English monarch, " be cautious of the channels through which you shall receive your informations ; let them be as impartial as possible to either party." The result of this application by Phelim, was, the peaceful settlement of the kingdom of Connaught, and the satisfaction of its plundered inhabitants. So easy is it for a spirit of justice to tranquillize the people of any nation, that no instance can be found in the history of Ireland, nor in the history of any other country, where the ho-

nest anxiety of the monarch, or the ruling powers, to do justice to their subjects, does not excite corresponding sentiments of gratitude, loyalty, and allegiance.*

The death of the son of the earl of Pembroke, which took place about this period, (1231), gave rise to a train of events which involved Ireland in new scenes of anarchy and confusion.

Richard, the second son of that illustrious nobleman, succeeded to the princely inheritance of his brother; and possessed that bold and independent spirit, which distinguished the life of his illustrious predecessor. Such qualities incurred the suspicion, and excited the fears of the king; and every artifice which the most malignant ingenuity could suggest to remove so formidable an enemy, was practised by the insidious prelate of Winchester, who was then the minister of England. Earl Richard remonstrated against the insolent and violent usurpations of this minister; and particularly expostulated with his sovereign on the alarming increase of foreigners in every part of the state; he absent-

* Notwithstanding the long continuance of tragic scenes, in a land violently torn by all the horrors of anarchy and oppression, it may be some relief to the mind to reflect, that strong traces of erudition are to be discovered. Joannes de S. Bosco has been claimed for Ireland, by Ware, Harris, and Abbe Groghegan. He wrote a Treatise on the Sphere; on the Calculation of the Ecclesiastical Year; a Breviary of Law. He died at Paris, in 1256, where he was long a highly-esteemed professor. Florence MacFlin, chancellor of the church of Tuam, is another celebrated name in the Irish annals; he was remarkable for his knowledge of canon law.

ed himself from parliament; and at length flew to arms in defence of his country. This being an insurrection against an odious minister, rapidly acquired strength; and, at length, a treacherous and cowardly conspiracy was formed against the spirited and gallant Richard. By this stratagem the large estates of this English baron, in Ireland, were divided among the rapacious settlers in that country. A price was put on his head, and every inducement held out to encourage the infidelity of his followers.—He fell a victim to the treason of his friends. The information of his fall, drew from the king tears of the most degrading hypocrisy; and the universal sympathy in favour of the betrayed and beloved baron, extorted even from his enemies the affectation of sorrow for his untimely and unworthy fate. So great was the popular sentiment in favour of his memory, that the king, in all the meanness of hypocrisy and terror, yielded to the public indignation; and the death of this illustrious Englishman, had the effect of accomplishing what the triumphs of his arms could only have achieved, namely, the banishment of those foreigners which had monopolized all the places of profit and confidence under the crown, and the total annihilation of that fabric, which the ambition and the obstinacy of the bishop of Winchester had so lately raised. The people of Ireland sympathized with the friends of Richard, earl of Pembroke, and the people of Leinster, laying claim to the honour of being governed by the family of the earl of Pembroke, manifested

the most ardent zeal against the murderers of their prince.

Soon after the death of Richard, earl of Pembroke, Fedlim, or Phelim, prince of Connaught, presented himself before his sovereign, to complain of the grievances under which he and his people laboured from Richard de Burgo. His complaints were heard with respect, and immediately attended to by the king.—Orders were issued to suppress the outrages of the baron de Burgo, who was the oppressor of his Irish subjects. This act of justice by the English monarch is a good deal diminished in value by the royal conquest which immediately followed. It appears as the result of royal policy, more than of royal mercy ; and discovers the arts of the politician, more than the protection of the sovereign.

Henry immediately summoned the prince of Connaught, in return for the protection he afforded the Irish, to assist him against the king of Scotland.

We find Fedlim soon after leading his troops into Wales, against David, and co-operating with the Irish viceroy to reduce the Welsh. The deaths of Richard de Burgo, Hugh de Lacy, and Geoffry de Maurisco, became new sources of national distraction and misery. The disorders and calamities of England gave opportunities to the ambition of the English adventurers in Ireland ; and the native Irish, amidst the contending great families, were the common * victims of ambition, jealousy and

* The following observations are made by an Irish historian (Mr Taaffe,) who discovers in every page of his work, an ardent

avarice. The reader of the scenes just related, cannot suppress his smiles at the stories so gravely told by the apologists of England, of the two mandates which were issued by king Henry, directing that the nobility, knights, freeholders, and bailiffs of the several counties, should be convened, in order that

sensibility to the sufferings, and an honest anxiety for the fame of his countrymen. "It is surprising the incessant din of arms did not entirely banish the muses from this ill-fated island; but it seems the person of a bard was held more sacred than that of a priest. The English settlers frequently plundered and massacred the clergy; while we find few or no instances of similar cruelty exercised on the children of the muses. In addition to the high respect entertained for their profession, ambition was interested in their protection. They were, in a great measure, arbiters of fame; and the murder of one of their body would inflame the whole irritable race of poets and harpers, to consign the perpetrator to the execration of posterity. Sensible that character forms one species of power, the chief of the settlers not only avoided insulting men possessed of such influence on public opinion, but he kept pensioned bards to sound and extend his credit: at his command they sounded the war song, inveighed against his enemies, extolled his success in collecting their spoils, and praised the munificence with which he shared the fruits of his victories among his followers. In the book of Fermoy, there remains a curious collection of such mercenary rhapsodies, composed by Roche's bards. In those times of anarchy, they were generally employed as trumpeters of war, and served, by their melodious notes, and rapturous strains, to attract enthusiastic youth to the standard of the chief, and to influence their ardour in the day of battle."—For 600 years, the enemies of Ireland have found their mercenary poets and historians to sing their praises, and conceal their tyranny; and to the hour in which this line is writing, may we see the interests and happiness of Ireland sacrificed to the mercenary poverty of some despicable calumniator, whose only hope of decent existence is his sycophancy to the worst passion of an avaricious monopoly.

the great charter should be read over in their presence ; and that they should be directed to adhere to the laws and customs received from king John, and strictly to obey them ; that the Anglo-Irish barons be requested to permit Ireland to be governed by the laws of England ; and that peace should at length be restored to that unfortunate country.

May it not be permitted us to ask, at this distant period of time, how it came to pass, that the power which was able to extinguish the efforts of those barons, whenever they rebelled against the English interests, was so feeble and so petitioning, when the object of its interposition was the peace and happiness of Ireland ? May it not be conjectured, without any great stretch of sagacity, that the English government connived at the extortions and the plunder of the colonists, in order the more effectually to compel the devoted inhabitants of Ireland to solicit the royal interposition, in terms sufficiently humiliating to the national pride ; and thus obtain, by the slow and lingering torments of continued persecution, those advantages which could not, perhaps, be won in the field ?

In this view of the subject, we shall not be surprised when we see Henry *humbly suing* for the permission of his barons ; or some of the persecuted people of Ireland petitioning, in turn, for royal patents, by which they may enjoy the rights and privileges of English subjects. It is idle to talk of the obstinate resistance of the Irish to the English laws and customs, after perusing the history of national suffering we have already passed through, produ-

ced by English ambition and avarice. It is worse than idle, to express our wonder at the inflexible attachment of the Irish to their old laws and customs, under which they experienced the blessings of independence; or to be surprised that they would close their eyes and their ears to the instruction of their *enlightened* invaders, who were desolating their beautiful country with fire and sword.

It is said that Henry, in order to repress the violence of his barons in Ireland, made the experiment of sending, as his representatives, a succession of Englishmen, who would have no interest to consult but that of their master, and the country to which they were sent. But such rapid successions always produce the miseries inseparable from distracted and conflicting councils; and the wisdom and virtue of one viceroy, was counteracted by the folly or the vices of his successor.

An event of high importance occurred at this period (1253), which, if the circumstances of the English nation had permitted, might have been attended with the most fortunate consequences to Ireland. Prince Edward, the son of the English monarch, being married to the infanta of Spain, was invested by his royal father with the sovereignty of all that part of Ireland then under English dominion, excepting the cities and counties of Dublin, Limerick, and Athlone; excepting also the lands of the church, on the proviso that the territories so granted should never be separated from the crown, but remain for ever to the kings of England. The lands, therefore, which were claimed, or possessed

by the king's subjects in Ireland, were called the lands of lord Edward, and all writs ran in this prince's name. Edward, from whose great talents much might have been expected, had he assumed the administration of Ireland, was carried down the current of the day, which ran so strongly in favour of the wild and adventurous expeditions of the crusades. Ireland, in the mean time, suffered all the calamities inseparable from a state of anarchy and civil war. The Fitzgeralds and the MacCartys desolated each other's territories, till at length the family of the Geraldines were completely destroyed, by one general engagement.

The English government were indolent or indifferent spectators of the sanguinary scene. The English monarch, as it is recorded, made no greater effort than to write to the rival combatants, commanding them to suspend their animosities. The miserable confusion which was created by those rival factions, generated death and disease in every part of Ireland.

The severity of the season aggravated the miseries of civil war; and the finest portion of the British dominions lay mangled and torn by the barbarity of the most rancorous feuds. In addition to the inflictions under which Ireland now suffered, we have to enumerate the insolent exactions of the papal authority, as well as of the English monarch.

Henry, whom we saw, some time back, lamenting the distraction of the kingdom of Ireland, we now find co-operating with the pope in levying exorbitant taxes on the beggary of the country—a

fifteenth of all the cathedral churches, and a sixteenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues, as well as the most intolerable taxes on the laity. Thus do we see this ill-fated country, in the extremity of her distress, resorted to by the English monarchy, to remunerate him for the loss he sustained in his foreign wars; and while Ireland is thus writhing under the miseries of English invasion, we are stopped by the historians of the colonists, to reflect on the singular want of judgment evinced by the Irish nation, in not embracing the laws and customs of England. Ireland was, at this period, as well as England, overrun with Italian ecclesiastics, who were invested with the dignities and revenues of the church, within the territories of the English powers. It is to be observed, that the oppressive exactions of the pope, and usurpations of the Italian ecclesiastics, were confined to the popish limits of English jurisdiction, and were effectually resisted by the native catholics. The native Irish, sensible of the abuse of the pope's spiritual authority, were little inclined to pay him tribute, or to submit to the insolent impositions of his foreign emissaries.

The Irish princes, who as yet retained their independence, scornfully rejected such encroachments as unchristian. The evils of this ecclesiastical tyranny became so oppressive to the colonists, that remonstrances crowded from every corner of the pale to the viceroy, against so destructive a practice. Thus unfortunate Ireland seemed to be doomed the resting-place for every greedy adven-

turer, lay and ecclesiastical, who pleased to fatten on her spoils, or plunder her of her property.

The native Irish came to a determination on this occasion, that no foreigner should be admitted or received into any of the Irish churches; and it should not be forgotten, that within the English pale alone, do we find the Italian, or foreign clergy, presume to obtrude themselves. It is a well ascertained fact, that the native Irish clergy preserved the most uninterrupted harmony with their countrymen, and that the exactions of which some historians speak, in those days, were practised solely by the English and Italian clergy, who had no other object but the enriching themselves, and the beggary of Ireland.

The native Irish exulted in the venerable antiquity of their church. They gloried in their catalogue of saints, and found consolation in the piety and sanctity of their clergy. They despised the English, as well as the Italian intruders on the peace and independence of their country; and though they bowed to the spiritual, they as firmly denied this temporal power, and repelled the exactions of papal authority, with as much boldness as they resisted the usurpations of the English adventurers. Such has been the religion of the Irish catholic for eighteen hundred years, during which period, we see numberless instances of the compatibility of that spiritual power of the pope, which the Irish acknowledge, with the political freedom of their country, and the most ardent allegiance to a Protestant government.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

EDWARD I.

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A. D.
1272. **HE** who has read the history of England, and who has observed the wisdom and policy of those regulations which Edward here introduced and enforced, will perhaps expect that the distractions of Ireland would have attracted the attention of so wise a monarch; and that some effort would have been made to heal those wounds, from which the life blood of the most valued member of the British dominions was so abundantly flowing. The conquest of Wales, and of Scotland, however, were, in the eyes of Edward, a more important concern; and little alteration is to be found in those melancholy scenes which we are about to record, during the reign of one of the wisest and most powerful monarchs that ever ascended the English throne. The same miseries, and the same petty warfare; the same recital of usurpations, on the one hand, and resistance on the other; the

same partial and puny effort to preserve the interests of the colony ; the same narrow and contracted policy, which was satisfied with the temporary suppression of an insurrection, and the ephemeral triumph of a particular family.—All this wearying round of miserable civil war is again to be witnessed during the reign of a prince, by whom Ireland could have been made the most productive, as she was the most beautiful portion of the British empire. On the accession of Edward to the English throne, Maurice Fitzmaurice was appointed his representative in Ireland.

The royal letter was received by the viceroy, promising protection to his Irish subjects ; and the nobility, knights, and free tenants, were called on to take the oaths of allegiance to Edward.

Maurice Fitzmaurice was not long in the seat of government, when a formidable insurrection broke out in the most flourishing parts of Leinster, and after a feeble struggle with the Irish, he was taken prisoner in Ophaly, (King's county) and committed to prison. The conquerors retaliated on the colonists, the depredations committed on their own territories ; and Glenville, the successor of Fitzmaurice, also experienced a singular defeat. In the mean time, the north of Ireland, supported by the marauders from the Scottish isles, was involved in the most afflicting dissensions, and Maurice Fitzmaurice, when released from prison, united with the lord Theobald Butler, and invaded the territories of the O'Briens. The family of Fitzmaurice had gained a great accession of force, by their con-

nection with Thomas de Clare, to whom Edward made extensive grants in the country of Thomond. This young nobleman was followed by a powerful train of attendants. The O'Briens expostulated, and the contest was at length to be terminated by the sword. Thus the perpetual encroachments of some English adventurer was wasting and usurping the property of the natives.

O'Brien fell a victim to treachery ; but his sons, who succeeded, took most ample vengeance, and this furious war ended in the total overthrow of the family of the Geraldines ; the O'Briens were declared sovereigns of Thomond, and the castles and forts surrendered to their generals.

De Clare appealed to Edward for protection ; but new distractions and commotions in the west of Ireland, seemed to obliterate the remembrance of De Lacy's misfortunes from the royal bosom. Edward issued his royal mandate to the prelates of the pale, to interpose their spiritual authority, and to endeavour to compose the public disorders ; but the impotence of such mandates can well be conceived, when thrown into the scale against the insatiable ambition and avarice, which perpetually stimulated the plunderers of the Irish.

The miseries experienced by that people, the uninterrupted persecutions with which their families and properties were desolated, the unsuccessful efforts which they made to expel the invaders of their country, broke down their spirits, and reconciled them to the alternative of peace, though on the condition of surrendering the ancient laws and cus-

toms of their country. The historians of the English write, that the Irish embraced the laws, from the conviction that only under such laws, and such an administration, could the peace and tranquillity of their country be restored, the blessings of freedom communicated, and the rights and privileges of man asserted. The fact is not so ; and if this calumny on the Irish nation were not refuted by the most respected authorities, it would be contradicted by the observation of every man who attends to the working of the human heart. As well may it be said that the Irish petitioned for the desolation of their properties, as the overthrow of their laws and constitution. “ They petitioned, it is true, under the torture of the lash, but this,” says Mr Taaffe, “ only proves their deplorable situation, and not a preference of English law to the old established and cherished laws of the country, under which their monarchy so long and so illustriously flourished.” Mr Leland, after endeavouring to convince his readers that the Irish solicited the protection of English law, is obliged to admit the general sentiment of opposition, which animated that people against any innovation whatever : “ Nor did those of the Irish who lived most detached from the English, perceive any advantage in exchanging their old institutions for another system. On the contrary, it was with the utmost labour and difficulty, and the most obstinate reluctance on their part, that the English law could be obtruded on them, even some centuries after the present period.”

The answer of Edward to the petition of the per-

secuted people of Ireland, is so very remarkable for the hard and rigid terms on which he concedes to their wishes, that if we had no other reason to conclude against the degrading charge brought against them, that they volunteered in surrendering the laws and customs of their country, this instrument alone would prove that the king of England was determined to make his Irish subjects pay very dear indeed for what he and his generals called the blessings of the English constitution. Perhaps human pride can sustain no greater insult, nor the human heart be more bitterly afflicted, than by the promise of protection from that power, who, at the moment he is making professions of kindness and affection, is plundering our property, degrading our country, and trampling on the most honourable feelings of our nature. With the sword in one hand, and his free constitution in the other, it would be perhaps more than can be expected from the firmness of human nature to resist the kind and protecting offer. With the Irish, at this period, it would have been folly; because it was a choice of evils on which the mind could not balance for a moment, distracted and divided as they were by foreign tyranny, and domestic treachery. The answer of Edward is too remarkable in its policy and its language, to omit it even in this compendium of Irish history.* It seems to be the

* Have we not seen a similar reply to the petition of those infamous and prostituted characters, who agreed to that humbling and degrading measure, called "an union between England and Ireland"—have we not had great and flattering promises of a more

artful model of subsequent concessions to Ireland ; which are, in substance, “ give me your liberties—give me your properties at my disposal—give up your country, and I will give to you in return the blessings of the English constitution.”

It thus proceeds :

“ Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to our trusty and well-beloved Robert de Clifford, justiciary of Ireland, greeting :

“ The improvement of the state and peace of our land of Ireland, signified to us by your letter, gives us exceeding joy and pleasure. We entirely commend your diligence in this matter, hoping, by the divine assistance, that the things there begun so happily by you, shall, as far as in you lieth, be still further prosecuted with the greater vigour and success.

“ And whereas the community of Ireland hath made a tender to us of eight thousand merks, on condition that we grant to them the laws of England, to be used in the aforesaid land, we will give you to know, that in as much as the laws used by the Irish are hateful to God, and having held diligent conference and full deliberation with our council in this matter, it seems sufficiently expe-

substantial communication of English privileges, English capital, English manners, English improvements in arts and industry ; and for these specious and intoxicating blessings, we should stipulate to surrender that liberty which raised our country from beggary to independence, and should again agree to rely on the parental protection of that power, which chained down the rich and prolific energies of our country for 600 years.

dient to us and to our council, to grant to them the English laws ; provided always that the general consent of our people, or at least of the prelates and nobles of that land, well affected to us, shall uniformly concur on that behalf. We therefore command you, that, having entered into treaty with those Irish people, and examined diligently into the wills of our commons, prelates, and nobles, well affected to us, in this behalf, and having agreed between you and them on the highest fine of money that you can obtain, to be paid to us on this account—you do, with the consent of all, at least of the greater and sounder part aforesaid, make such a composition with the said people, on the premises, as you shall judge, in your diligence, to be most expedient for our honour and interest ; provided, however, that these people should hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, amounting to such a number as you shall agree upon with them, for one turn only, to repair to us when we shall think fit to demand them.” Such is the language of a king, communicating what he terms the blessings of English law ; and such are the conditions on which the tortured Irish inhabitants of the pale were to obtain the protection of his majesty Edward the first. But such is the language of tyranny over every conquered people ; the bayonet and the sword are the forerunners of the blessings which despotism dispenses ; and the sighs of a persecuted nation are generally answered by hypocritical professions of kindness from the hand which caused them.

Such was the influence of the petty tyrants of the Irish, that they were able to intercept the rays of royal mercy, however feeble in their heat; and the English ascendancy of the pale struggled with their sovereign, for the perpetuity of that monopoly of despotism, from which the native Irish petitioned to be relieved. It should be here observed, that the men who opposed the communication of English laws to the native Irish, professed the same religion and the same faith, as the unfortunate people over whom they ruled; that the ascendancy here complained of was an English ascendancy, and that the same opportunities, enjoyed by Catholic, as well as Protestant, would be equally abused, and the same tyranny equally exercised. No Irish Protestant has oppressed his countryman, because he is a Catholic—no—he has oppressed him because it was the policy of England to encourage and support a monopoly of power in the hands of a few, and when England became Protestant, her Irish tyrants were Protestants, as her Irish tyrants were Catholics in the time of Edward, because England was Catholic.

The commons, the prelates and nobles, who threw themselves between Edward and his subjects, and who endeavoured to preserve the little petty tyranny of monopoly, were catholics: but such is the nature of man under such circumstances; the temptation is too seducing, and the motive too strong to be weighed against the remote, though certain rewards of integrity and public virtue. Two years elapsed, and a second petition was presented by the

native Irish, and a second time resisted by the catholic barons, clergy and commons. The consequence of this tantalizing policy, was the universal distraction of the country, the renewal of the most implacable hostilities, and a wild, barbarous, and destructive civil war.

The English adventurers, the Fitzgeralds, the Burkes, the Butlers, Eustaces, and Lacys, rose on the ruins which spread around them, and notwithstanding the wise and benevolent remonstrances of MacCarty, the deluded natives seemed to vie with each other in promoting the schemes and confederacies of their common enemy. The great and important undertakings, in which the arms of Edward were now engaged, (1286), involved his government in embarrassments, and the sufferings of Ireland were no reason why an experiment to raise new resources, should not there be tried: he therefore demanded of the clergy, or rather of all the spiritualities within the pale, an additional fifteenth. After some altercation and delay, this demand of Edward was acceded to.

The distractions of Ireland were so great at this period, that Edward determined to make some effort to prevent their recurrence. For this purpose he deputed Sir John Wogan, in 1295, to administer the affairs of Ireland, or rather of that part of Ireland in possession of England. No viceroy as yet appeared better qualified, from the mildness of his temper, his excellent understanding, and sound discretion, to heal the bleeding wounds of Ireland. With firmness to put into execution, the well di-

gested resolutions of parliament, he suppressed those whom he could not sooth ; and we therefore see much done by this nobleman to compose the exhausting dissensions of the English barons with each other, and of the native Irish with both. He summoned parliament more frequently than usual, and we find the acts of this assembly at this period, more deserving of notice than those which have preceded them. Various regulations were made to restrain the insolence and tyranny of the barons, to put a stop to their perpetual encroachments on the territories of each other, and to prevent the recurrence of those exasperating practices which so frequently drove the native Irish to rebellion.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

EDWARD II.

A. D. **T**HE important events of this reign should 1308. have been to England a source of useful instruction on the inevitable evils flowing from that narrow and confined policy, which estimated its security by the distracting divisions of Irishmen, by its success in running county against county, the Irish within the pale against their native countrymen, and erecting on the ruins and weakness of both parties, a disgusting and torturing English ascendancy.

The successful invasion of Edward Bruce, brother of the celebrated Scottish monarch, the devastation committed by his arms, and the universal shock then given to the English interests in Ireland, should have taught the sister country, the necessity of no longer relying on the power of a faction to keep down the resentment of an injured and insulted people. From this example, succeeding

rulers might have learned the wisdom of mild and parental government. They might have seen that the avarice of English speculators on the misfortunes of the people was the cause of general dissatisfaction, and that the first opportunity which may offer to a nation to release itself from the persecution of its enemies, will be embraced with equal ardour, as the Irish received the Scottish alliance of Edward Bruce.

Mr Hume, who does not often sympathise with the sufferings of this country, whose sensibility would be more affected by the misfortunes of a royal individual, than the miserable scene of distress which covered the whole people of Ireland for centuries, breaks out into the following indignant observation on the oppression practised by his countrymen on its devoted inhabitants: "The horrible and absurd oppressions which the Irish suffered under the English government, made them at first fly to the standard of the Scots, whom they regarded as their deliverers." Should not such an example have operated as a source of instruction to succeeding governments, not to be making so important a member of the British empire as Ireland, the common subject on which every experiment, suggested by tyranny or by ambition, was hereafter to be tried; the retreat of an odious favourite, or a bankrupt lord; the resting-place of every political adventurer who would submit to be the instrument of the sovereign, administering to his views of folly, passion, or tyranny. In the time of Edward II. we see the royal favourite, Pierce

Gaveston, odious to Englishmen, appointed the representative of majesty in Ireland. In succeeding times we shall find Ireland the grand *refugium peccatorum* of Englishmen ; the place of refuge for every bad or vicious passion, and the great scene of remuneration for every public delinquent, who has incurred the resentment, or merited the displeasure of the English nation. The vicegerent of Edward II., Pierce Gaveston, had so much offended the pride and independent spirit of the English barons, by the insolence of his demeanour, and the abuse of his royal master's partiality, that Edward was obliged to yield to the general sentiment against his favourite ; and, to blunt the edge of public vengeance, sent him to Ireland, where the services of Gaveston might, in some degree, obliterate the remembrance of those injuries of which the barons of England so loudly complained. The personal qualities of Gaveston were highly calculated to raise great public expectations of the effects of his administration ; and in this hope the English colonists were not disappointed. He displayed great vigour and ability as viceroy ; he extinguished rebellion the moment it raised its head, and established peace and tranquillity throughout his government, as much by the independent firmness of his administration, as by the promptitude and triumph of his arms. The splendour of the governor threw the English barons into the shade. Accustomed to dictate to the viceroy, those petty lords could not brook the high and supercilious demeanour of Gaveston ; and a rivalry of parade and ostentation between those

lords and the viceroy, had frequently the effect of protecting the people against the insolence and torture of petty tyranny.

Those symptoms of discontent had just appeared, when the favourite Gaveston was recalled; and the government was again entrusted, but with limited powers, to Sir John Wogan, who was compelled to consume his time, and that of parliament, with an idle contest for precedence between the prelates of Armagh and Dublin.

New wars were carried on between the lords of the pale, and the native Irish; and the Earl of Ulster, whose ambition had no bounds, wantonly invaded the territories of Thomond, where he suffered a signal defeat from the Geraldines. The result of those sanguinary contests was the union of the two families of the Geraldines and the family of the Earl of Ulster, an union which promised an interval of repose to the people of Ireland. A new scene now opened, which brought back all the misery and distress from which Ireland flattered herself in some degree released. The triumph of liberty in Scotland roused the patriotic ardour of the native Irish, and the degrading contrast which their own situation exhibited, when compared with the glorious independence enjoyed by the Scottish nation, prompted the bold and intrepid spirits of Ireland, to emulate the conduct of the illustrious Bruce, who successfully asserted the freedom of his countrymen. They entered into correspondence with the monarch of Scotland; they solicited his protection in strong and pathetic language, and pro-

mised the universal co-operation of Ireland with his invading arms. The preparations making throughout Ireland for the reception of the Scottish invader, alarmed the government of the pale so much, that a deputation, composed of the Lords of Ulster, Edmond Butler, and Theobald de Verdun, was sent forward to consult with the king, his prelates, and nobles, on the critical and alarming situation of the English interests. We find these commissioners, who had communicated with the British monarch and his parliament, sent back to Ireland, to lay a statement of the royal determination in favour of the Irish, before the principal chieftains of the latter; promising redress of grievances, cessation of persecution, and stooping to the humility and meanness of soliciting the alliance of those people, whom the violence of English persecution had driven into the arms of rebellion.

Among other measures, offensive and defensive, adopted on this occasion by the Irish people, and the English monarch, we find an appeal to the pope, the grand arbiter of Europe, the thunder of whose bulls were heard with veneration in the remotest corners of the civilized world.

The pathetic and able remonstrance presented by the Irish people, on this occasion, to the most holy father, is the best picture which can be presented to posterity of the sufferings which Ireland experienced from the invasion of England. It is a compendium of human sorrow, and of goading exasperation, which no future pen could more strongly delineate; which brings tears into the

eyes of the Irish reader, and justifies, in a loud and emphatic tone, the efforts of our ancestors, who struggled for their deliverance.

The Irish chieftains, being only catholics, and not having the claims on papal partiality which the English monarch had, relied on the justice of their cause ; and, fearless of contradiction, related the story of their sufferings in such strong and glowing terms, as called for the sympathy of the royal father, and moved him to interpose between the persecuted people of Ireland and the British monarch. Even in this abridgment of Irish history, we cannot refrain from giving, at length, and without curtailment, this interesting document of Irish grievances. To the English reader, it should be a fertile source of instruction ; and to the rulers of Ireland it should be strong and satisfactory evidence of the necessity of securing the allegiance of Irishmen by services, rather than weakly endeavouring to humble and reduce their spirit by persecution. This Irish remonstrance is an able recapitulation of English administration, from the invasion of Henry II.; and is a triumphant vindication of their present resistance to England.

“ To the most holy father in Christ, lord John, by the grace of God ; his devoted children, Donald O’Neil, king of Ulster, and by hereditary right true heir of Ireland, as also the chieftains, and nobles, and the people of Ireland, recommend themselves most humbly, &c. &c.

“ It is extremely painful to us, that the vicious detractions of slanderous Englishmen, and their in-

iquitous suggestions against the defenders of our rights, should exasperate your holiness against the Irish nation ; but alas ! you know us only by the misrepresentation of our enemies ; and you are exposed to the danger of adopting the infamous falsehoods which they propagate, without hearing any thing of the detestable cruelties they have committed against our ancestors, and continue to commit even to this day against ourselves.

“ Heaven forbid that your holiness should be thus misguided ; and it is to protect our unfortunate people from such a calamity, that we have resolved here to give you a faithful account of the present state of a kingdom we can call the melancholy remains of a nation that so long groans under the tyranny of the kings of England, and of the barons : some of whom, though born among us, continue to practise the same rapine and cruelties against us, which their ancestors did against ours heretofore. We shall speak nothing but the truth, and we hope that your holiness will not delay to inflict condign punishment on the authors and abettors of such inhuman calamities.

“ Know, then, that our forefathers came from Spain ; and our chief apostle, St Patrick, sent by your predecessor pope Celestine, in the year 435, did, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, most effectually teach us the truth of the holy Roman catholic faith, and that *ever since that period*, our kings, well instructed in the faith that was preached to them, have, in number sixty-one, without mixture of foreign blood, reigned in Ireland, to

the year 1170; and those kings were not Englishmen, nor of any other nation but our own; who with pious liberality bestowed ample endowments in lands, and many immunities on the Irish church; though in modern times our churches were most barbarously plundered by the English, by whom they are almost despoiled; and though those our kings so long and so strenuously defended against the tyrants and kings of different regions, the inheritance given them by God, preserving their innate liberty at all times inviolate, yet Adrian IV. your predecessor, an Englishman more even by affection and prejudice than by birth, blinded by that affection, and the false suggestions of Henry II. king of England, under whom, and perhaps by whom, St Thomas of Canterbury was murdered, gave the dominions of this our kingdom, by a certain form of words, to that same Henry II. whom he ought rather to have stripped of his own, on account of the above crime—thus omitting all legal and judicial order; and also, his national prejudices and predilections, blindfolding the discernment of the pontiff, without our being guilty of any crime, without any rational cause whatever, he gave us up to be mangled to pieces by the teeth of the most cruel and voracious of all monsters; and if, sometimes nearly flayed alive, we escape from the deadly bite of those treacherous and greedy wolves, it is but to descend into the miserable abysses of slavery, to drag on the doleful remains of a life more terrible than death itself, ever since those English appeared first upon our coasts, in virtue of the above

surreptitious donation. They entered our territories under a certain specious pretext of piety and external hypocritical show of religion ; endeavouring in the mean time, by every artifice malice could suggest, to extirpate us root and branch, and without any other right than that of strength, they have so far succeeded by base and fraudulent cunning, that they have forced us to quit our fair and ample habitations, and paternal inheritances, and to take refuge, like wild beasts, in the mountains, woods, and morasses of the country ; nor can even the caverns and dens protect us against their insatiable avarice. They pursue us even into those frightful abodes, endeavouring to dispossess us of the wild uncultivated rocks, and arrogating to themselves the property of every place on which we can stamp the figure of our feet ; and through the excess of the most profound ignorance, impudence, arrogance, or blind insanity, scarcely conceivable, they dare to assert that not a single part of Ireland is ours, but by right entirely their own !

“ Hence the implacable animosities and exterminating carnage which are perpetually carried on between us ; hence our continual hostilities, our bloody reprisals, our numberless massacres, in which, since their invasion to this day, more than 50,000 men have perished on both sides ; not to speak of those who died by famine, despair, the rigours of captivity, and a thousand other disorders, which it is impossible to remedy, on account of the anarchy in which we live—an anarchy which, alas ! is tremendous, not only to the state but also to the church

of Ireland ; the ministers of which are daily exposed, not only to the loss of the frail and transitory things of this world, but also to the loss of those solid and substantial blessings which are eternal and immortal.

“ Let those few particulars concerning our origin, and the deplorable state to which we have been reduced by the above donation of Adrian IV. suffice for the present.

“ We have now to inform your holiness, that Henry, king of England, and the four kings his successors, have violated the conditions of the pontifical bull, by which they were empowered to invade this kingdom ; for the said Henry promised, as appears by the said bull, to extend the patrimony of the church, and to pay to the apostolical see, annually, one penny for each house. Now this promise, both he and his successors above mentioned, and their iniquitous ministers, observed not at all with regard to Ireland ; on the contrary, they have entirely and intentionally eluded them, and endeavoured to force the reverse.

“ As to the church lands, so far from extending them, they have confined and retrenched and invaded them on all sides ; insomuch, that some cathedral churches have been, by open force, notoriously plundered of half their possessions : nor have the persons of our clergy been more respected ; for, in every part of the country, we find bishops and prelates cited, arrested, and imprisoned, without distinction ; and they are oppressed with such servile fear, by these frequent and unparalleled injuries,

that they have not the courage to represent to your holiness, the sufferings they are so wantonly condemned to undergo.

“ The English promised also to introduce a better code of laws, and to enforce better morals among the Irish people ; but, instead of this, they have so corrupted our morals, that the holy and dove-like simplicity of our nation is, on account of the flagitious example of those reprobates, changed into the malicious cunning of the serpent.

“ We had a written code of laws, according to which our nation was governed hitherto : they have deprived us of those laws, and of every law, except one, which it is impossible to wrest from us ; and, for the purpose of exterminating our people, they have established other iniquitous laws, by which injustice and inhumanity are combined for our destruction,—some of which we here insert for your inspection, as being so many fundamental rules of English jurisprudence, established in this kingdom.”

(The statement of the Irish then sets forth the laws, by which the lives, and properties, and feelings of their country, were sacrificed to the rapacious and cruel ascendancy of England. It then goes on in the following strong and emphatic language :—)

“ All hope of peace between us is therefore completely destroyed ; for such is their pride, such their excessive lust of dominion, such our ardent ambition to shake off this insupportable yoke, and recover the inheritance which they have so unjustly usurped, that as there never was, so there never

will be, any sincere coalition between them and us; nor is it possible there should, in this life; for we entertain a certain natural enmity against each other, flowing from mutual malignity, descending by inheritance from father to son, and spreading from generation to generation. Let no person wonder, then, if we endeavour to preserve our lives and defend our liberties as well as we can, against those cruel tyrants. So far from thinking it unlawful, we hold it to be a meritorious act; nor can we be accused of perjury or rebellion, since neither our fathers nor we did, at any time, bind ourselves by an oath of allegiance, to their fathers or to them; and therefore, without the least remorse of conscience, while breath remains, we will attack them in defence of our just rights; and never lay down our arms until we force them to desist. Besides, we are fully satisfied to prove, in a judicial manner, before twelve or more bishops, the facts which we have stated, and the grievances which we have complained of; not like these English, who, in time of prosperity, discontinue all legal ordinances, and, if they enjoyed prosperity at present, would not recur to Rome, as they do now; but would crush, with their overbearing and tyrannical haughtiness, all the surrounding nations, despising every law, human and divine.

“ Thereupon, on account of all those injuries, and a thousand others which human wit cannot easily comprehend; and on account of the kings of England, and their wicked ministers, who, instead of governing us, as they are bound to do, with jus-

tice and moderation, have wickedly endeavoured to exterminate us off the face of the earth; and to shake off their detestable yoke, and recover our native liberties, which we lost by their means, we are forced to carry on an exterminating war, choosing, in defence of our liberties and lives, rather to rise like men, and expose our persons bravely to all the dangers of war, than any longer to bear like women those atrocious and detestable injuries; and, in order to obtain our interest the more speedily and consistently, we invite the gallant Edward Bruce; to whom, being descended from our most noble ancestors, we transfer, as we justly may, our right of royal dominion, unanimously declaring him our king, by common consent, who, in our opinion, and the opinion of most men, is as just, prudent, and pious, as he is powerful and courageous; who will do justice to all classes of people."

The pope had strong and influential reasons for his partiality to England, which did not exist in favour of Ireland. The English allowed his holiness both temporal and spiritual power—the Irish confined him to spiritual power. This accounts, in no small degree, for the papal partiality in favour of the former. A bull of excommunication was published some time afterwards, in which Robert and Edward Bruce are mentioned by name.

The thunders of the Vatican, however, were but a small impediment to the Scottish chief. Lord Edward Bruce appeared on the north-eastern coast of Ireland, on the 25th of May, 1315, with a fleet of 300 sail, carrying 6000 men; with this force

he laid waste the English settlements in the north of Ireland. Dundalk and Atherdee opened their gates.

The west and south hailed their deliverer with enthusiasm, and flocked to his standard, animated with the hope that the hour had arrived when the wrongs of their country would be redressed. The disunion of the English lords facilitated the progress of the enemy; and the artifices of Bruce, practised with success on the ambition of Fedlim O'Connor, the king of Connaught, detached a large and powerful force from the ranks of his enemies.

Fedlim O'Connor is deposed by his brother Roderic; and the former, aided by English auxiliaries, recovers his throne, and, contrary to his solemn engagements, joins the forces of the Scotch invader, Edward Bruce. O'Brien of Thomond, the chieftains of Munster and Meath, declare for Bruce; the clergy proclaim him as the deliverer of Ireland from the tyranny of England; and the coronation of Edward Bruce at Dundalk, gave confidence to the timid, and increased boldness to the friends of Irish freedom. The illustrious Robert Bruce came over to Ireland with a large force, to confirm the pretensions of his brother to its sovereignty; and though opposed by the most unprecedented dearth of provisions, took many of the strongest places in Ulster, and laid waste the country through which he passed.

The fears of the colony at length began to rouse them from their lethargy; and the danger of being

expelled by the Scotch invaders from those great and princely estates which they had purchased with their blood, united the English lords in one common sentiment, and determined them to make one general effort against this formidable enemy. On this occasion the most distinguished English barons received new titles and new honours from the hands of the British monarch. John Fitzthomas, baron of Ophaly, was created Earl of Kildare; Lord Edmund Butler received the title of Earl of Carrick. An army was sent by the colony into Connaught, against Fedlim O'Connor, who laid waste the territories of a number of English barons surrounding his kingdom, and threatened an universal annihilation of the English name, had it not been for the battle of Athunree, in which the English put forth all their strength, and gained a most decisive victory. Fedlim O'Connor fell on the field of battle, with eight thousand of his troops. In the mean time, Bruce proceeded in his destructive progress through the north, and met with no obstacle to his ambition, until he arrived at the walls of the metropolis. Here the Scottish chief met with a resistance that compelled him to march into Kildare, which he desolated with all the cruelty of a disappointed and baffled general. The fury of Bruce, and the havoc committed by his army on the property of the English colony, united those barons whom a more artful policy might have divided, and rendered tributary to his purposes. The miserably impoverished state of the country at this period, proved more formidable to Bruce than the sword of his

enemies. It is related, that the famine was so dreadful, that the carcasses of the dead soldiers were the only sustenance of the living. Bruce, however, after all his losses from the visitation of Providence, made a desperate effort to maintain his conquest. He met the English near Dundalk; the conflict was violent, and sustained on each side with equal bravery; but at length victory declared for the English general.—Edward was slain in this desperate engagement; and thus terminated an expedition, which promised in its commencement a speedy deliverance from the English power, and which, at the end of three years, left her an object of pity and wretchedness to surrounding nations.

The miseries of the people were greatly aggravated at this period, (1318,) by the different modes of jurisdiction that governed the native and the colonist. The calamitous effects which flowed to the governors as well as the governed, demonstrated the fatuity of such a policy. To murder an Irishman was punishable only by fine; the murder of an Englishman was a capital offence. The Englishman who plundered his neighbour was condemned to death; the Irishman who committed the same crime was often handed over to his Brehon, or Irish judge, who had it in his power to compound with the offender; an indulgence which, it is related, seduced numbers of disorderly Englishmen to renounce their name and nation. This wretched policy gave unlimited reins to the vengeance of an enemy, and exposed society to all the horrors of

civil war and anarchy. The worst passions found protection in the law, and the weak and innocent fell victims to the strong and the guilty. The partial administration of justice, the corruption of the judges, the depraved state of the public mind, were evils sufficiently great to impoverish the political body; but the absurd and cruel practice of quartering the soldiers on the miserable inhabitants, and exposing them to the insatiable exactions of an unbridled soldiery, filled up the cup of Irish suffering, and presented to the eye a universal scene of anarchy, rapine, and massacre. The consequence of this baneful practice was, that the English freeholders, rather than endure such perpetual torture, fled to the country of the native Irish, learned their language and their manners, and were undistinguished, in the course of time, from the native inhabitants. Among those of the English barons who imposed those arbitrary exactions on the unfortunate people, was Maurice Fitzthomas of Desmond; who, it is said, to preserve the power he had usurped, (having expelled all the English settlers from his immense estates, which were soon occupied by his Irish followers,) he became an Irish chieftain, and only acknowledged those laws which secured him undiminished or unlimited power over his tenantry. The English and Irish soon united into one mass, and became one people, united against English law, and English connection. Such was the scene which Ireland exhibited when Edward III. came to the English throne.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

EDWARD III.

A.D. 1327. **T**HE miserable situation to which Ireland was reduced by the Scottish invasion, which let loose the violent and furious passions of a people unrestrained by law, and uncontrolled by a settled and impartial system of jurisprudence, would incline us to suppose that the barbarities and atrocities committed by the colonists on the natives, were rather the offspring of particular circumstances, and peculiar only to that country in which such circumstances existed, than a miniature of the universal anarchy which the British empire then exhibited.

Mr Hume, when describing the manners of the English people in the reign of Edward II. writes thus : “ The estate of an English baron was managed by his bailiffs, and cultivated by his villains. Its produce was consumed in rustic hospitality by the baron and his officers. A number of idle re-

tainers, ready for any mischief or disorder, were maintained by him ; all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his disposal ; and instead of applying to courts of justice, he usually sought redress by open force and violence. The great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who, if they submitted to any regulations at all, were less governed by the municipal law than by a rude species of the law of nations."

How the historian who, in the impartial spirit of history, gives such a description of the state of society among his own countrymen, in the reign of Edward II. can be seduced to designate the Irish as barbarians, whose manners and customs were exactly similar, can only be accounted for by that determined spirit of hostility which Mr Hume always manifests against the Irish nation. It is not surprising, that a nation like Ireland, which has been the common prey of foreign invasion, of the Danes, the English, and the Scotch, should contain within its bosom all the pernicious materials of intestine warfare and distraction—that an English party and a Scotch party should be found to fly to arms in the hour of invasion, and that a system of government which put the great mass of the people out of the protection of the law, should have generated all those miserable scenes which perpetually present themselves.

In England, we find from Mr Hume, that the strong arm of the sovereign could not restrain the barbarous tyranny of the English baron. How then could it be expected that the feeble orders of the

royal deputy should have silenced the clamours of faction, repressed the violence of the petty lord, or introduced a spirit of order or civilization into the great political body of the Irish people?

Amidst the distractions which disfigured the fair face of Ireland at this melancholy æra of her depression, we are relieved in some degree by the philanthropic efforts made by a few prelates to check the vices and disorders of the community. Two archbishops laboured to establish a university in Dublin, not only for the study of theology, but that of the civil and canon law, then a fashionable part of European literature. Archbishop Bricknor distinguished himself on this occasion by the liberality of his patronage, and Edward III. enlarged the original endowment, and granted his protection to the students of the new seminary, some years after its first establishment; but the dawn of public instruction was greatly clouded by the sad examples of fanaticism which some of the ecclesiastical colonists exhibited at this period. Charges of heresy were brought by private resentment and vengeance against the most distinguished families, and the punishment of the church made instrumental to the gratification of malice and ambition. Richard Ledred, bishop of Ossory, a man of violent and vindictive passions, encouraged the persecutions of the fanatic; and charges of heresy were brought against the magistrate as well as the peasant, who in many instances were destroyed by the faggot, or withered away in a prison. The bishop of Ossory himself became a victim in turn,

and was obliged to fly the country which he had visited with the fury of his superstition.

We do not find that the accession of Edward III. to the British throne, contributed in any degree to restrain the violence of faction, or to prevent each English baron from pursuing, as usual, his own personal schemes of ambition. He despised the authority of the deputy, and treated with equal contempt the royal mandate of Edward, who wrote letters to the principal barons, enjoining them, on their allegiance, to pay due obedience to the chief governor, Thomas Fitzjohn, Earl of Kildare.

Private wars continued to be waged as usual; and the calling a name, or offering a personal insult, involved the Irish chiefs, with their respective followers, in the most sanguinary contests. Hence the destructive battles of Maurice of Desmond with John de la Poer. The king commanded them to lay down their arms; and at length the apprehension that the native Irish would take advantage of their divisions, put an end to hostilities which desolated the English territories.

Another effort is now made by the native Irish to enjoy the shelter of British law, and no longer to be the victims of the ambition and avarice of the contending barons, who were perpetually oppressing the Irish, and goading them to insurrection, in order to plunder them of their properties. The Irish petition for the privileges of English subjects, and their petition is insolently rejected by an Anglo-Irish parliament, whose monopoly could only be preserved by the persecution of the people. The

consequence of such contumelious treatment was a most formidable insurrection of the Irish ; and so formidable was this Irish insurrection, that the power which could not be conquered by the sword, they practised on by bribery. Maurice of Desmond was invited by the English to join their forces, and promises of the most alluring kind were held out to this Irish prince, if he deserted the ranks of his countrymen. They created him Earl of Desmond, and bestowed new territories on him.

The Irish, with the celebrated O'Brien at their head, continued to harass the English settlement, and almost threatened it with annihilation. Sir Anthony Lacy was appointed to the government of the colony. He determined, by a prosecution of the war, to reduce the Irish, as well as to disconcert that formidable confederacy formed by the English barons to circumscribe his power. He summoned a parliament to meet him at Dublin : his order was neglected ;—he seized the Earl of Desmond, Mandeville, Walter de Burgo, William and Walter Birmingham.

It was about this period (1330), that Edward III. declared his intention of visiting Ireland. He issued some ordinances for the better regulation of the kingdom, and the more impartial administration of justice : he resumed all the Irish grants made during the reign of his mother, and her favourite, Mortimer.

Notwithstanding the magnitude of the preparations which Edward made for his visit to Ireland, it soon appeared that his real object was the

invasion of Scotland, and, imitating the example of his illustrious grandfather, to recover the dominion of that important kingdom. Ireland was thus left to be preyed upon by new competitors for her riches, and new adventurers for plunder. The denunciations of a rigorous government subsided into the timid concessions of a weak and impotent administration ; and the assassination of the Earl of Ulster completed the despair of all those who trembled for the security of the English colonists. Many of the English barons declared for the Irish ; and the governor had not only to contend with the common enemy, but with the treason of those chieftains on whose allegiance he thought he might reasonably rely. He seized two of the noble house of De la Poer ; he confined Maurice Fitzmaurice of Kerry, and visited with severe punishment those who had disturbed the peace of Leinster.

Such a state of things as we have been describing, was ill calculated to enrich the treasury of the ambitious and martial Edward. His Irish resources were far below his expectations ; and his disappointment at the alarming deficiency so extreme, that he withdrew all confidence from those of his Irish servants who had the administration of Irish affairs. He therefore resolved on the most violent and offensive measures ; all the principal ministers and officers of government were discharged ; the justices of the king's bench and common pleas. He issued the most rigid and severe ordinances for the future regulation of his possessions in Ireland ; and by one very remarkable order, he withdrew his

confidence entirely from all those Englishmen who held any Irish properties, under the impression that they were interested in the distractions of that unhappy country, which gave them an opportunity of increasing the extent of their territories, and plundering the devoted natives. The spirit and purport of this order is so very singular, and so well describes the total sacrifice of the English interests by the colonists to their own aggrandizement, that we shall set it down here for the satisfaction of the reader.

“ The king to his trusty and beloved John D’Arcy, justiciary of Ireland, greeting :

“ Whereas it appeareth to us and to our council, for many reasons, that our service shall the better and more profitably be conducted in the said land, by English officers, having revenues and possessions in England, than by Irish or Englishmen married and estated in Ireland, and without any possessions in our realm of England ; we enjoin you that you diligently inform yourself of all our officers, greater or lesser, within our land of Ireland aforesaid ; and that all such officers beneficed, married and estated in the said land, and having nothing in England, be removed from their offices ; that you place and substitute in their room other *fit Englishmen*, having lands, tenements, and benefices in England ; and that you cause the said offices for the future to be executed by such Englishmen, and none other, any order of ours to you made in contrarywise notwithstanding.”

The effect of such an order was the immediate

disaffection of all the principal barons of the colony, whose pride was wounded, and whose past services were thus rewarded by the most wanton and contumelious insult. The chief governor, Sir John Morris, undistinguished by birth or by property, deemed it necessary to summon a parliament in Dublin on this critical occasion ; but the lords whom he had to govern, were determined not to be insulted with impunity. They therefore embarrassed, by every possible expedient, the administration of the colony. Under the direction of Desmond, they convened a parliament at Kilkenny ; they styled themselves the prelates, nobles, and commons of the land ; and prepared a remonstrance to be transmitted to the British monarch. In this remonstrance the barons charged the viceroy with a base and unprincipled neglect of the king's interests ; the desertion of his castles ; the abandonment of his territories to the native Irish, which cost so much treasure and blood in the acquisition ; the insolent exercise of authority over the nobles of the land ; the plunder and the extortion of their properties, and an infamous monopoly of the wealth of the country. They complained that they had been misrepresented to the throne, by mean, ignorant, and avaricious adventurers from England ;—that they had been ever faithful in their allegiance to his majesty ;—that they had borne arms in his cause at their own expence ;—and that, in return for such services, they had been plundered of their properties, and insulted in their feelings. To this remonstrance, Edward replied in a gracious

and condescending tone;—he promised a milder administration, and a future correction of the evils complained of by his subjects.

The remonstrance, which we have just mentioned as being presented by the English lords of the colony, against the rapacity of the new adventurers, is a good picture of the oppression and sufferings of which the native Irish could have complained, and with the perpetration of which they might have justly charged those very lords, who were now swept away by the new tide of rapacity, which rushed in from the chief source of misfortune. It was a just retaliation for the barbarities inflicted on the ancient Irish, and the great retribution of Providence for the miseries which they had inflicted on an unoffending people:—"Whatever measure you measure unto others, the same measure shall be measured unto you."

In the course of this history, it will be found that one wave of English enterprise washed away the preceding; that every fresh swarm of English adventurers annihilated their predecessors, and gave them the exact measure which was given to the ancient inhabitants.

The dissensions and discontents were but little diminished by the royal promise to redress the grievances of the remonstrancers. The spirit of monopoly among the new rulers of the pale, counteracted the purpose and interests of the monarch; and the same jealousies between the old English settlers and the new English settlers continued with unabated rancour. The attention of Edward was

too much occupied with his grand and magnificent speculations of conquest and glory in France, to turn for a moment to a careful consideration of the best remedies for the disorders which convulsed his Irish dominions; but a chief governor happened to be appointed about this period (1345), who possessed those qualities of vigour and determination, which were well suited to curb and restrain the vindictive and violent passions of the people he was to govern.

Sir Ralph de Ufford was entrusted with the Irish administration. This firm and active deputy not only suppressed the common enemy, but he also reduced to obedience those English barons, of whom Desmond and Kildare were at the head. The sudden death of this efficient chief governor, replunged the colony into its old factions, and revived all its old animosities. Sir John Morris, possessing a mild and conciliating disposition, succeeded, and was unequal to the task of awing into obedience these turbulent lords whom Sir Ralph de Ufford had put down.

Edward had now (1346) completed his preparations for the invasion of France; and Desmond having appeared before this monarch to complain of the injuries he had received from the chief governor, was solicited by Edward to join his standard, and participate in the fame and laurels he was about to acquire against the common enemy of England. The complaints of Desmond and Kildare were attended to; their lands restored, and those noble and powerful barons, with their numer-

ous followers, contributed in an eminent degree to the fame of English arms, in the celebrated battle of Cressy. Edward witnessed with the enthusiasm of a hero, the agility and strength, and skill at arms, displayed by his Irish auxiliaries; and the Earl Kildare so greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Calais, that he received the honour of knighthood from the king's hand, and returned to Ireland, covered with military glory and royal honours.

The restoration of Desmond and Kildare to their extensive estates in Ireland, contributed in a great degree to tranquillize the colony; but the animosity of the old English against their newly arrived brethren, was too deeply rooted to suffer that complete harmony, which would have insured the stability of the English interests in this country. The old English formed alliances with the native Irish; their manners and customs and affections became Irish, and the union of the people was considered by the viceroy, as the certain forerunner of the destruction of the English power. It was therefore enjoined by royal mandate, that "No mere Irishmen should be admitted into any office or trust in any city, borough, or castle in the king's land; that no bishop or prior, under the king's dominion and allegiance, should admit any of this race to an ecclesiastical benefice, or into any religious house, on account of consanguinity or other pretence whatever;" thus breaking up all those social and endearing connections which time had formed, which good policy would have strengthened, and which

only excited the envy, the jealousy, and malignity of a short-sighted monopoly. Such is the epitome of Irish history, and in those few words might Ireland's story be told, for 600 years of English domination. Of those impolitic ordinances the native chiefs took advantage, and "*Bellum ad internecionem*" was the signal from one corner of the kingdom to the other: O'Neil from the north, O'Brien from the south, recruited their forces by the foolish denunciations of their inveterate enemies. They desolated the English territories, and threatened the English power in Ireland with complete annihilation. "A want of concert and union," writes Mr Leland, "among the Irish, prevented them from demolishing the whole fabric of English power, by one general and decisive assault."

Edward, habituated to victory, saw, with considerable agitation, the miserable disorders of his Irish dominions. He sent forward his second son, Lord Lionel, who was affianced, in his tender years, to the daughter of the Earl of Ulster, and by right of his wife, claimed immense property in Ireland. A royal proclamation was issued, that all Englishmen holding lands in Ireland, should join the prince's standard. Fifteen hundred men were thus collected; and, in 1361, Lord Lionel, accompanied by Ralph, Earl of Stafford, James, Earl of Ormond, Sir John Carew, Sir William Windsor, and other knights of distinction, landed in Ireland.

Lionel, diffident of the old settlers, trusted entirely to his new companions in arms, who were ignorant of the nature of the country, the habits and

manners of the Irish, and unequal to the struggle with their experienced leaders. Defeat and disaster were the consequences of such imprudent steps. This partial policy therefore was abandoned, and the old English settlers were invited to the prince. This new system in some degree checked the career of the Irish ; but Lionel having carefully observed the circumstances of the colony, did not place any great confidence in temporary expedients. He summoned a parliament at Kilkenny, which proved more respectable and more numerous than was ever before convened in Ireland.

The prelates of Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, Lismore, Waterford, Killaloe, Ossory, Leighlin, and Cloyne, obeyed the summons of the king's son. The temporal peers and commons cheerfully attended. It is to be observed, that both estates sat together ; and the result of their deliberations was that famous ordinance, the statute of Kilkenny. It is impossible to look back upon this statute, without deploring that barbarous selfishness and absurd antipathy, which such an instrument exhibits to posterity. That a people remarkable for their hospitality and kindness to strangers, as the Irish are acknowledged to be ; that the connections formed by the imperative ordinances of time, among a people distinguished by the strength of their social affections, the acute sensibility of their feelings, and the honour and candour of their hearts, should be thus driven out of the pale of civilization, and denied the common rights of mankind, is only to be accounted for by that infuriate and poisoned sentiment

which monopoly generates in the human breast ; which makes man a tyger among his species, swallowing up and devouring, with insatiable appetite, all those rights, privileges, and advantages, which it imagines would be lost by participation among his countrymen. The same blind and wretched sentiment characterised the Spartan, as well as the English settler ; and the miseries of the Helot, and the Irish native, were sweet sounds to the ears of the monopolist, whom it had pleased Providence to arm with ascendancy. “ This statute of Kilkenny,” says Mr Taaffe, with honourable feelings of indignation, “ empaled the pale from social life ; it formed an insulated Jewish cast, abhorring all, and abhorred by all ; the Jews were insulated from the neighbouring idolatrous nations, to guard them against idolatry.”

“ This English pale excluded the intercourse of a people better Christians than they, better men, more civilized. What crime,” says Mr Taaffe, “ could be in the melody of the Irish harps, chanting the sweet strains of Erin’s bards ? Why should Irish learning and piety be excluded from benefices founded by Irishmen, or from monasteries founded by them ?—The Norman conquerors passed no such statute in England, nor the heathen Danes in Ireland.” Yet, let it not be forgotten, that the parliament which enacted this statute was a popish one ; that its denunciations against Catholics are by Catholics, and that the same unwearied despotism, which, in succeeding times, poured new blood on the pages of our statute-book, caused the enact-

ment of this infamous statute of Kilkenny. To England alone should our eyes be perpetually turned, the prolific source of all our sorrows, and the indefatigable corrupter of our people. A Catholic or a Protestant Parliament, under its malignant influence, is equally blasting of the energies, and torturing to the feelings of our country. The Catholic is a blockhead who condemns the Protestant as the enemy of Irish freedom. The Catholic, under the burning heat of an English treasury, would be equally malleable to English purposes. We should therefore learn to look to the first cause of Ireland's treachery to herself.

The statute of Kilkenny enacted, that marriage, nurture of infants, and gossipred, with the Irish, should be considered and punished as high treason. It enacted, that if any man of English race shall use an Irish name, the Irish language, or the Irish apparel, or any mode or custom of the Irish, he shall forfeit lands and tenements, until he hath given security in the Court of Chancery, to conform in every particular to the English manners; or if he has no lands, that he shall be imprisoned until the like security be given. This kind and benevolent statute made it penal to the English to permit their Irish neighbours to graze their lands, to present to ecclesiastical benefices, or receive them into monasteries or religious houses. It also enacted, that the colonists should not entertain the Irish bards, who perverted their imaginations by romantic tales, or their news-tellers, who seduced them by false reports. Such are the provisions of an act for the better se-

curing the English interests in Ireland, and the more effectually extirpating the Irish name and nation. Such has ever been the impotent instrument, and the barren expedient of despotism, in all ages and countries, which has no security but in chains, reposes no confidence but in the sword, and looks at every object around it with eyes of jealousy and suspicion. The reflection of Mr Leland on this celebrated statute, is very unworthy the kind and benignant feelings which should distinguish the Irish historian: "Such," he writes, "were the institutions of an assembly quoted in Ireland with reverence, confirmed and renewed in after times as of most salutary influence." What Irishman, with the feelings of an honest man, can quote with reverence the provisions of such an act as the statute of Kilkenny, unless proscription, barbarity, selfishness, and a complete abandonment of principle, be such qualities as human nature will praise and admire. The effect of this cruel statute, was the suppression of those factions, in some degree, which distracted the pale; but it had also the effect of making the hostility of the Irish take a deeper root; and we soon find that O'Brien and O'Connor visit the colonists with implacable vengeance. So miserable was the state of Ireland, so barbarised were the natives by the *enlightened* legislation of English adventurers, that we have to record the refusal of Sir Richard Pembridge to administer the affairs of Ireland, or to fill the hazardous and dangerous station of viceroy of Ireland. It was therefore assigned to Sir

William Windsor. He obtained from the king an annual appointment of eleven thousand pounds, to defray the charges of his government; and we are informed by Sir John Davis, that the whole revenue of the pale, certain and casual, did not amount to ten thousand pounds annually.

The barren and unproductive effects of that system which Edward acted upon in Ireland, are well illustrated by a remarkable occurrence which now (1376) took place. It should teach government how unprofitable are the eviscerations of tyranny, and the extortions of avarice. The distractions and poverty of Ireland were now so great, that Edward sent forward an agent, Nicholas Dagworth, to ascertain the real cause of deficiency of revenue experienced in his Irish dominions. Edward summoned the parliament of the pale to Westminster. The Irish representatives sat at Westminster; and what success Edward had from this interview with his Irish parliament, is not on record; but the impotency of the statute of Kilkenny is acknowledged by the rapid declension of the English interest, the multiplication of English and Irish connections, and the necessary relaxation of the severe and cruel provisions that statute contained. The reign of one of the most renowned of the English monarchs closed, without imparting a single benefit to this ill-fated country. Too much occupied with the brilliant and unproductive glories of foreign conquest, he consigned his kingdom of Ireland to the passions and follies, and experiments of deputies,

who had neither the talents nor the power to promote any lasting scheme of sound or profound policy. Mr Leland truly observes, "It was the perverse fate of Ireland to suffer more from the most renowned, than the weakest of the English monarchs."

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

RICHARD II.

A. D. **T**HE events of this reign are well calculated to exhibit the follies of the last ; and the
1377. devastation which the colony suffered from the vengeance of the Irish, is no bad commentary on the wretched effects of that policy which seeks its safety rather in the strength of the chain, than the affections of the heart. The English were either driven from their lands, or those who were suffered to preserve them were obliged to pay tribute to the native Irish chieftains.

The parliament of England murmured at the constant waste of blood and treasure incurred by the maintenance of the Irish dominions. The national treasury, exhausted by the foreign wars in which England was so long involved by the ambition of Edward, had recourse to every expedient which ingenuity or wisdom could suggest. Absentees were heavily taxed. The Irish were permitted

to work their mines, on condition of paying a ninth of the produce: they were allowed to coin money, and to hold a free trade with Portugal; thus granting to Ireland, from necessity, what should have been long before suggested by sound national policy. The foreign enemies of England took advantage of the unfortunate counsels of the colony, and the Scotch and French invaded the Irish shores. Those strong illustrations of the folly of governing Ireland by harsh and violent measures, were not sufficient to open the eyes of England. Richard, always the victim of his passions and partialities, intrusted the Irish government to Philip de Courtney, a man of the most violent and oppressive disposition. So excessive were the extortions of this baron, that even Richard was obliged to surrender him to the vengeance of his accusers.

A new scene now opens, in which the weakness, the vanity, and the tyranny of Richard, eminently contribute to increase the calamities of Ireland. To a monarch, possessed of a good understanding, and armed with the power which Richard was able to command, the opportunity enjoyed by the latter to put an end to the distractions of Ireland, might have been the beginning of a new and prosperous era, and the establishment of such a system as would give permanent tranquillity to the empire; but the most unmeaning partialities for the most worthless of his subjects, and a complete abandonment of the solid and substantial interests of his empire to the gratification of his favourites, kept Ireland exposed to a perpetuity of that bad government which

generated so much calamity to the colony, as well as the native Irish.

Richard, in obedience to his ruling passion, invested the corrupt and profligate Earl of Oxford with the marquise of Dublin. He also granted to him the entire dominion of Ireland, and empowered this young and giddy lord to appoint all officers of state and justice. The latter was bound in return to pay into the English exchequer five thousand marks annually. The inordinate partiality of the king would not suffer his favourite to leave the royal presence; but he continued to heap new honours on his head, and sent forward deputies to perform the duties of the Earl of Oxford as duke of Ireland.

The indignation of the English barons at the impudent arrogance of Oxford, who trampled on their dignity and their feelings, broke out in every corner of England, and Richard and his favourite were obliged to yield to the storm of public vengeance. The Earl of Oxford was stripped of all his honours, and the Irish administration ceased to be carried on in the name or under the seal of the deposed earl.

We find nothing very novel in the transactions of the colony until the determination of Richard to visit his Irish dominions. This monarch landed at Waterford in the year 1394, with a royal army, consisting of 4000 cavalry, and 30,000 archers, attended by the duke of Gloucester, Earls of Nottingham and Rutland, Thomas, lord Percy, and other distinguished personages. The reflections of Mr Leland on this royal visit to Ireland, is both

just and philosophic.—“An army,” says he, “commanded by some of the prime nobility of England, with the monarch at their head; the presence of the king to inspect the conduct of his ministers, to hear and examine the complaints of his subjects, were circumstances of considerable moment, if duly improved; and, if united with a liberal and equitable spirit of policy, must have established the authority of the English government, and the general pacification and civility of the kingdom, on the firmest basis; but,” he continues, “the pride of the English forbade them to propose the generous scheme of receiving all the inhabitants into the body of English subjects, or of communicating the benefits of a free and equitable constitution to those whom they most absurdly called their inferiors. However lively their own regard to liberty, they accounted it a blessing too precious not to be confined to themselves; for,” says Mr Leland, “they had not acquired that extended and comprehensive benevolence which is the effect of refinement and deep moral reflection.” This is a great admission, from such an authority, of the folly of those counsels that would close the door of a free constitution against a people petitioning for its benefits. It well describes the selfish spirit of monopoly, and the events which follow in the reign of the unfortunate and foolish Richard, demonstrate, to the most superficial thinker, the weakness and distraction which must unavoidably flow from bigoted and contracted counsels.

Had that spirit of equitable policy, of which Mr

Leland speaks, influenced the English counsels of Ireland, we should have been long since united to the sister country by the ties of kindness and gratitude; their injuries and triumphs would be our's; we should have rejoiced as they rejoiced, and the defeat and depression of the English power would never have been proclaimed the elevation and victory of Ireland.

Richard, instead of making such arrangements as might give permanent security to the Irish dominions, employed himself and his followers in an idle display of his royal magnificence. He brought over his crown jewels, and seemed more anxious to dazzle the Irish chieftains by the splendour of his living and retinue,* than by the wisdom of his counsels, or intimidate them by the terror of his arms. He considered the voluntary surrender of the principal chieftains as equivalent to their com-

* "We have already," says Mr Taaffe, "observed the rudeness and ill-breeding of John's courtiers; but then—they were young! Well; let us see the behaviour of Richard's courtiers, the prime nobility of England. The four principal kings, O'Neil, O'Connor, O'Brien, M'Murchad, sat at King Richard's table, in their robes of state. Ormond, and Henry Castile, a gentleman of Richard's court, interpreted. The staring courtiers importuned them with such questions as argued the meanest conceptions of their manners and understanding, and were answered 'with indignation and affected dignity.' Why, Mr Leland, '*affected* dignity?' Dignity was a sentiment habitual to the mind of an Irish chieftain, needing no affectation. Froissard, an eye-witness, does not call that dignity affected. Rudeness may be a part of English politeness: I cannot otherwise account for the supercilious and unmannerly conduct of the English courtiers towards their master's guests, men every way their superiors."

plete reduction. Possessed with the importance of his achievements, he communicated them in form to the Duke of York, regent of England. He pointed out the three distinctions of inhabitants in Ireland—the Irish enemies, the rebels of both races, and the English subjects. The Irish, he said, had submitted, and become his vassals ; the rebels, he conceived, had received but too just provocation, and was therefore disposed to grant them a general pardon. Thus, after a residence of nine months in Ireland, Richard embarked for England, without being able to boast of having added a single acre to the English pale, or having gained a single advantage, though the leader of the largest force ever brought into Ireland. The immediate effect of the departure of Richard was the renewal of hostilities, the infraction of treaties, by the avarice and ambition of both parties : the flame of war broke out with its old fury, and every part of the colony was again involved in confusion and anarchy.

Ormond marches against the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and the sept of O'Toole annihilate a large body of the royal forces. Mortimer, the son of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, is slain in a battle with the O'Byrnes, and the death of this gallant baron again prompts the British monarch to revisit his kingdom of Ireland, and revenge the death of his favourite.

In the spring of the year 1399, his preparations were complete ; the reports of secret conspiracies which reached the royal ear, did not slacken his de-

termination ; and, accompanied by the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Salisbury, some prelates, and the young Lord Henry of Lancaster, he sailed for Ireland, to re-act the same scene of folly we have already witnessed.

The character of Richard was now tolerably well appreciated by the Irish chieftains ; and the celebrated Arthur MacMurchad O'Kavenagh, a youth of sixteen, determined that the English monarch should dearly purchase his conquests in Ireland. We find that this Irish hero, at the head of 3000 men only, was able, by the admirable skill and dexterity of his movements, to baffle the immense force which England brought into the field against him. His knowledge of the country,—the numberless resources it offered to an ingenious mind, full of resources, and prompt and vigorous to put them into effect,—the various artifices and traps which he laid to embarrass the progress of the enemy,—at length succeeded in compelling the boasting Richard to make him offers of castles, and forts, and territory, on condition of his sheathing his avenging and powerful sword. The Irish prince for some time hesitated ; but having at length agreed to enter into a negociation, Richard appointed Gloucester to meet the Irish chieftain.

Froissard describes the Irish prince, tall in stature ; formed for agility and strength ; of aspect fierce and severe ; mounted on a swift and stately horse, without saddle, and darting rapidly from a mountain between two woods adjacent to the sea, attended by his train. At his command they halt.

ed at due distance, while their leader, casting his spear from him, which he grasped in his right hand, rushed forward to meet the English lord. The parley was continued for a considerable time ; the Irish prince was reminded of his late engagements, his grievous infractions, his attack on the king's vicegerent, and the slaughter both of him and his forces : The Irish chieftain proudly answered, and with dignity justified his conduct. He would be at peace with the English monarch, but would yield to no humiliating conditions to procure it.

Gloucester returned to the king ; and the result of the conference so severely wounded the feelings and pride of the English monarch, that he passionately vowed he would never depart from Ireland, until he had possessed himself of this rebel, dead or alive ;—a vain and empty threat. He retreated with his routed army to Dublin, where he remained six weeks, hurling impotent proclamations against the illustrious MacMurchad O'Kavenagh, till the rapid strides of his rebel subjects of England, roused him from his idle dreams of conquest in Ireland. He returned to England, where he fell a victim to an indignant and abused nation. The sufferings of this unfortunate monarch, inflicted on him in his last moments, incline the feeling heart to forget the errors of his government. The barbarity of his English enemies obliterates the remembrance of the oppression and folly which ended the reign of the weak and miserable Richard.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

HENRY IV.

A. D. **T**HE accession of the house of Lancaster 1400. gave birth to a new epoch in Irish suffering, and threw back the hopes of those who sighed for the return of tranquillity and peace. Ireland, during the reigns of Henry IV., V. and VI., presents to the reader one uninterrupted scene of anarchy and confusion; of predatory warfare, and retaliating violence; of violated rights, and insatiable revenge; of impolitic and absurd cruelty, and resolute and unconquerable patience; of furious laws, and more furious resistance to those laws; of narrow-sighted monopoly, and victorious rebellion. It appears that no calamity could teach wisdom or mercy to the rulers of Ireland; and that the principle of extermination of the natives was the only mode within the understanding of the British cabinet, to preserve the English interests in Ireland.

Henry sent his son Thomas, Duke of Lancaster, to administer the affairs of Ireland, in the hope that a personage of such distinction would give weight and dignity to his government, and that the pride of those English barons, who could not brook an association with an humbler character than the son of a king, might in some degree be checked by the presence of the royal duke. The north is invaded by the Scotch ; who, supported by the native Irish, obtained some important settlements in that country. The Duke of Lancaster, anxious, if possible, to satisfy the complaints which were made to him by his subjects of the colony, of the oppressions and exactions under which they suffered, appointed commissioners to hold inquisition in several counties, to ascertain the names of the sufferers, and the actual damage they had sustained. Even the hope of redress tranquillized the public mind. Several of the Irish chieftains of Leinster renewed their submissions to the duke ; and the whole province being considered as restored to peace, a parliament was summoned at Castledermot, to consider of the most effectual means of repelling the Scotch invasion.

The citizens of Dublin and Drogheda collected their troops, and carried the marauding war to the coast of Scotland, where they amply revenged the depredations of the enemy. “ Amidst all this parade and triumph,” says Mr Leland, “ the celebrated Arthur MacMurchad lay like a canker in the heart of the Leinster territory.” This unwearied spirit was not to be soothed by concessions, nor intimidated.

ted by the sword. He despised the power of the English, and was indefatigable in seducing from their allegiance those chieftains who had submitted to the Duke of Lancaster. The deputy, aided by the arms of Ormond and Desmond, marched against him; and, after a furious battle, MacMurchad retreated, with a diminished though unconquered army. The English had no sooner repelled MacMurchad, than they were attacked from other quarters, and the impositions and exactions which such repeated contests with the native Irish induced, were so excessive, that the deputy found it necessary to put in force the provisions of the statute of Kilkenny.

The Duke of Lancaster, convinced of the necessity of the most vigorous and decisive measures, not only for the purpose of repelling with effect the common enemy, but also for restraining the insolent licentiousness of the great lords of his government, armed himself with powers more extensive than those he possessed when he first landed in Ireland. He insisted on an annual pension of one thousand marks, to render him independent of the precarious issues of the Irish revenue. But all the measures adopted by the Duke of Lancaster to preserve the peace of the colony were ineffectual, when opposed to the desperate valour of MacMurchad. The viceroy was pursued to the walls of Dublin, wounded, and forced to surrender his administration to Butler, the prior of St John of Jerusalem. Thus were the English abandoned to their own resources and expedients. The necessity of the times, and power

of the great lords, again imposed the torturing taxes of coyne and livery. The statute of Kilkenny was put in force ; but, as the historian very properly observes, “ such a statute was only politic or useful in case the parties putting it in force, were able to follow up, with the sword, the principles of extermination it enacted :” The Irish were too powerful, and the sanguinary statute of Kilkenny served but to recruit their ranks, and inflame their animosity ; its absurd provisions were defeated by the circumstances of the colony ; and the excluding and barbarous object of the legislator was counteracted by the weakness of the hand which was doomed to execute his law.

The colony, by this statute of Kilkenny, were prohibited from holding any commerce or traffic with the Irish enemy ; but their richest and most flourishing towns were so environed with the native Irish, that they had no other people to trade with, and were often reduced, by legal restraints, to the danger of being utterly impoverished. Still so refined was the cruelty of English policy against the native Irish, that the very same malignity which dictated the statute of Kilkenny, recommended the act which would not permit the persecuted Irish to migrate. Thus, in the same moment, refusing to incorporate them with their own people, and denying them the opportunity of seeking peace and tranquillity in a foreign land.

By an act of the Irish parliament, in the eleventh year of Henry IV. it was ordained, that no native Irishman should be permitted to depart from the

realm, without special license, under the great seal of Ireland; and that the person and goods of an Irishman, attempting to transport himself without such licence, might be seized by any subject, who was to receive one moiety of the goods for such service, the other to be forfeited to the king. The devoted Irish would not be received as subjects, nor even suffered to leave their country, where perpetual persecution awaited them.—“This can appear in no other light,” says Mr Taaffe, “than a game-act; not unlike the act forbidding the transportation of hawks, under a penalty heavier than the eric allowed for the murder of twenty-four *mere* Irishmen, residing within English jurisdiction.”

Notwithstanding the ingenious cruelty with which the native Irish were hunted by the law-makers of the colony, it is consolatory to find that the effects of such legislation were as unprofitable as the policy was infamous; and that the English interests declined in exact proportion to the fury and multiplicity of their statutes against humanity and justice. The English were forced to the dishonourable refuge of paying to the victorious Irish the annual tribute called the black rent; thus recognizing the ancient sovereignty of the Irish chieftains, ministering to their pride, and gratifying their vengeance. Such has ever been the consequence of vicious and cruel counsels—defeat, poverty, and dishonour.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

HENRY V.

A.D. 1414. **T**HE same melancholy scene of distress, turbulence, disaffection, oppression, and resistance, continues to weary our eyes until the arrival of Sir John Talbot, in the reign of Henry V. This Englishman was distinguished by his military abilities ; his vigorous and decisive character. Even the proud and intrepid MacMurchad bowed to his superior talents, and gave his son as an hostage for his peaceable demeanour. Other chieftains in the west and in the north, followed the example of Arthur MacMurchad. Though vigorous and able in his military achievements, and peculiarly successful in checking the progress of the common enemy, yet Sir John Talbot is handed down to posterity as partial, oppressive, and severe in the administration of his government. We find at this period a notable instance of the barbarous policy with which Ireland was pursued by the sister coun-

try. An act was passed by the English parliament, that all those Irish who wandered from their own country in search of that protection denied them in their native land, should immediately depart from the English territory ; and this infamous and inhospitable statute was not only directed against the poorest or the meanest of the Irish, but against the Irish students, who were contumeliously excluded from the British inns of court, lest the English people should be infected with the barbarous principles of the *wild and inhospitable Irish*. Such were the ignorant and insolent denunciations of a nation, at the moment it was outraging every feeling of the heart, and violating every law human and divine, against a people whom English historians record as the most generous, the most hospitable, the most social and warm-hearted on earth. So writes the venerable Bede, Keating, Camden, Sir John Davis, and every authority of respectability and veracity. We are not to wonder that those English viceroys who came over to Ireland, should have exercised their authority with insolence or with scorn, over a people whose characters and principles were represented in so odious and so horrible a light, nor should it excite our astonishment, that the national animosity should be extreme, after the laborious efforts of the enemies of Ireland to root out of its breast those sentiments of forgiveness or pardon, which are the offspring of generous hearts, and the grand characteristic of the Irish disposition.

So fallen were the Irish of the pale, as well as its

English inhabitants, and so completely at the mercy of their task-masters, that we find the chancellor Merbury, hardy enough to refuse affixing the seal to the petition framed by the old English settlers against the monopolizing avarice of their modern countrymen. Here we find a chancellor resisting the wishes of the parliament of the colony, composed of those very persons whose forefathers stifled the prayers of the native Irish.

There is a law of action, and re-action, pervading every department of nature; there is a law of retributive justice, in the moral system of intelligent beings, which the settlers experienced in an eminent and striking degree. All appointed to station and office were of English birth. Every English swarm of adventurers treated the settlers of Irish birth with the most mortifying contempt and injustice. Sir John Talbot, who encouraged this insidious and absurd policy, departed from the Irish administration with general execrations. His extortions, exactions and oppression, were balanced against his efforts to repel the common enemy of the pale, or to restore the latter to peace and tranquillity. He was succeeded by Ormond, who, being well disposed to redress the grievances of the pale, was popular among the English. A subsidy was granted, amounting to one thousand marks, accompanied as usual with a representation of grievances. The petition to the king was sent forward, and the archbishop of Armagh and Sir Christopher Preston were appointed agents to present it. This petition is a distressing picture of the injustice and

extortion suffered by the inhabitants of the pale. They say, between the terror of the common enemy, the native Irish, and the rapacious monopoly of the English viceroys and ministers, they passed a life of perpetual misery and torture. They impeached Stanley and Sir John Talbot. They pray that the chancellor Merbury may be cited before the throne, to answer for his insolent refusal to affix the seal to their petition. They complain in strong and emphatic language, that such a scene of various iniquities would be thus discovered, as were utterly abhorrent to the equity of the throne, and utterly intolerable to the subject. The effects of this petition were the removal of the odious chancellor, and the continuance of Ormond in the government, which gave general satisfaction by the mildness and kindness of his administration.

In this reign we find the odious passions of jealousy and rivalry, infecting and influencing the conduct of the higher order of the clergy of the pale. We see them bringing their disputes before the parliament, and charging each other with the most detestable crimes. An English bishop of Lismore accusing O'Hedian of Cashel of the most scandalous offences. These ecclesiastical contentions did not meet any very great countenance from the parliament.

The common enemy, as the native Irish were called, were always engaged in their contests for precedence and leadership among their respective septs. If a particular sept were in danger of total annihilation, and, as other annalists express it, "for

the sake of the Irish language," the neighbouring septs assembled to rescue their countrymen, and thus avenge the insult offered to Irish independence. The situation of Ireland, and her chieftains at this period, may be fairly illustrated by the species of affection which we sometimes see between men and their wives. Though some husbands correct their wives rather severely, they see no reason why a stranger should presume to indulge in the same liberty ; and the Irish chieftains, who frequently waged most merciless wars with each other, were indignant that the English colony should presume to follow their example.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

HENRY VI.

A. D. **T**HE infancy of this monarch when he came
1420. to the throne, little contributed to the re-
formation of Ireland. The anarchy of Eng-
lish factions, the want of vigour in the Irish admi-
nistration, left the colony exposed to the furious
and jealous passions of its inhabitants, as well as to
the unresisted incursions of the native Irish. De-
puties were sent from England, who either incur-
red the contempt or hatred of the men they were
to govern. The most disgraceful and infamous
charges were brought against the viceroy, and so-
lemn inquiries held before the parliament to prove
their veracity. We see the country invaded with
impunity by the Scotch, where they are retained
and encouraged by the Irish chieftains, who gladly
assist them in ravaging the English settlement.
The administration of the Earl of Ormond rescued
the colony, in a great degree, from the imminent

danger into which it was thrown by the imbecile conduct of former governors; he abolished, in 1425, the yearly tribute of *black rent*, paid by the colony to the Irish chieftains. The same historian who relates the triumphs of Ormond over the Irish, in the next page cites a petition of the Irish parliament, representing to the king, that all the Irish enemies and English rebels are sworn to put his loyal people of the colony under tribute to them; and that no part of Ireland remained unconquered by the Irish, but the county of Dublin. Mr Leland observes, for the honour of the colony, that the object of so humiliating a representation on the part of the Irish parliament, was for no other purpose than to gain supplies from England. The rapid declension of the English interests, suggested the necessity of enforcing the statutes against marrying, or fostering, or trafficking with the Irish.

The leading families of the old English settlers complain of the incapacity of the persons appointed to the viceregency of Ireland. They pray to be considered and treated as Englishmen, agreeably to their rightful claims, and the express stipulation of their ancestors. Hence the jealousies and animosities between Ormond, (the only nobleman of Irish birth in whom the crown confided,) and the Earls of Kildare and Desmond. The power of Desmond was so formidable, that he was able, by his influence, to remove from the government of Ireland, the popular Earl of Ormond, whose sentiments, Mr Leland says, were liberal, whose manners were polished, and for the purity and mild-

ness of whose administration, the most honourable testimonies were given. He was obliged to yield to the confederated power of his enemies, and Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was sent into Ireland to take the reins of government.

Talbot came attended with a troop of 700 chosen men, and the Irish again rose in arms to oppose the new viceroy, aided by the Butlers, and the Berminghams, and the MacWilliams of Clanrickard. The Irish chieftains were reduced, and the most obnoxious among them, particularly of the sept of Bermingham, seized, condemned, and executed. A parliament was summoned by Talbot, in the year 1447, which again made it penal to conform to the Irish fashion of the hair and the beard. It was forbidden to use gold trappings, horse furniture or gilded harness, except by knights and prelates.

The administration of Richard, Duke of York, of which we are now about to give an account, demonstrates, if examples were wanting, how easy it is to govern Irishmen by the simple and unsophisticated principles of justice, kindness, and humanity; how productive that policy is which is guarded by a fair and impartial spirit, and how prolific to the rulers is the gratitude of a people who enjoy equal protection, equal law, and equal privileges. We have here a proof how a conciliating and equitable disposition can tranquillize a distracted state, and how impotent are the efforts of violence and of tyranny, compared with the soothing voice of parental government, which extends equal

protection to all, and impartially shelters under its wings the subjects who submit to it.

The scene we are now about to describe, cheers and animates the historian. It gives him hope that the prospect is brightening, and that the cloud which so long mildewed the fairest blossoms of his country, will soon be dispelled; that the native energies of Ireland are about to enjoy the sunshine of a pure and equitable government, which will enrich the hand that confers the benefit. The Duke of York, valiant, prudent, and temperate, was compelled, by the jealousy of the rival faction of Lancaster, to administer the affairs of Ireland. It would perhaps be an act of injustice to the memory of that excellent personage, to insinuate that the peculiar situation in which he stood, as the presumptive heir of the British crown, influenced his conduct as viceroy of Ireland; or that the kind and conciliating system on which he acted in the latter country, was prompted by the artifices of policy, and not by the dictates of an honest and manly understanding. Our experience of English government naturally inclines us to doubt the sincerity of Richard; but the mild and benevolent acts of his government obliterate the impression, and the historian who would write in candour should confidently hold up the heir of the house of York, as the model to future governors of Ireland, of wisdom, of moderation, and of justice.

The partizans of Lancaster were glad to seize upon any pretext by which they could be liberated from the watchful jealousy of so formidable a rival as Rich.

ard Duke of York ; and therefore represented Ireland as peculiarly demanding, from the turbulence and disorder which convulsed that country, the presence of so efficient a ruler. The duke, enjoying most extensive and powerful connections in Ireland, hoped that his absence from his own country would not much diminish his pretensions to the English crown ; but in assuming the government of Ireland, he took care that he should be vested with almost unlimited power, and that the period of his administration should at least be ten years ; that he should have a pension of two thousand marks from England, independent of his Irish revenue, and that he should have the power of appointing such officers as to him seemed most fit for their respective stations. He arrived in Ireland in the year 1449, and his appearance in this country was splendid and magnificent. In his deportment to all parties, he was conciliating and polite ; he united the ease and cordiality of the companion, with the dignity of the prince, and even disarmed those of his Irish subjects who were prepossessed against his government. The opposing rival lords, Ormond and Osmond, he courted with equal success ; and the followers of the reigning house of Lancaster seemed to forget the spirit of party, in their respect for the amiable and insinuating manners of the noble viceroy. In the various negotiations he had with the native Irish, he studiously recommended himself by his moderation and his equity. To his subjects of the colony he manifested the greatest zeal for their safety and tranquillity ; and,

by no other power than that of a firm and undaunted determination to act impartially by all, did this excellent personage govern the colony with universal satisfaction and advantage. He convened a parliament at Dublin, in which various laws were passed for the security of the subject, and the prevention of oppression by the petty tyrant of the pale. Coin and coshierings were abolished. It was ordained that no lord should entertain more horse and footmen than he could support without burden to his neighbours. The number of the Duke's adherents multiplied every hour, and the popular voice of Ireland was universally resounding the praises of his mild and honest government; but such scenes of peace were not to last very long. This happy interval for Ireland was short and transient; and the great theatre of ambition in England demanded the immediate presence of Richard. He was succeeded by Sir Edward FitzEustace, under whose administration, though vigorous and decided, we are to witness the resurrection of these petty wars which convulsed the country. The native Irish chieftains of the west, the south, and the north, the O'Connors and the O'Neils, again rose in arms. They were checked by the strong and decided measures of FitzEustace. In the meantime the prospect in England became more and more gloomy. The general discontent increased, and the total loss of the French dominions roused and inflamed the public mind. The Duke of York openly declared for the throne, and the

victory gained by that Prince at St Alban's, put the British monarch in his possession.

The spirit of Margaret of Anjou, wife of the weak and impotent Henry VI. rose in proportion to the violence with which she was opposed ; and the battle of Bloreheath drove Richard for shelter to Ireland.* Here the reader of Irish history should

* A love of justice and obedience to the laws distinguished the Irish people in a more eminent degree than any other nation perhaps in the world. To this fact we have the most irresistible testimony. Sir John Davis, who observed this country with the eye of a philosopher as well as a lawyer, and who long resided in it as attorney-general, writes, " That no nation in the world loved impartial justice more than the Irish, though it should make against themselves." Lord Howth says, " The Irish obey the laws framed for them on their hills, better than the English do theirs, framed by parliament in walled towns." Mr Taaffe writes, (and this gentleman, from his intimate knowledge of the Irish language, and his industry in research, may be relied on by the Irish readers, as no bad authority on the following interesting facts), " The ancient Irish nation not only supplied themselves with all sorts of manufactures of necessity, but even of elegance, and exported besides. They enjoyed a flourishing agriculture, cloth, and linen manufacture ; iron and timber works, curious workmanship in gold and silver, a circumstance belonging to no other country in Europe. Their great monasteries, that were colleges, had botanic gardens. To their knowledge of astronomy some fragments of their books on astronomy, which we yet see, bear testimony : their knowledge of this science was much greater before than after Christianity." Of the Irish language, Mr Taaffe says, " It was more copious and elegant than any contemporary language, which the remains of their compositions in prose and verse abundantly evince. The ancient Irish music was acknowledged by their bitterest enemies, incomparably superior to that of the neighbouring nations ; and the remains thereof preserved in Ireland, Scotland, and England, though plagiarised, leave no doubt on that head. If music be sentiment guided by harmony,

pause to consider and observe the effects of good and impartial government on the hearts of the Irish nation. Let the enemies of Ireland here stop to contemplate the reception which this country gave to that prince, under whom she enjoyed the blessings of equal law. Let the viceroys of Ireland learn from this example how to govern, so as to secure the loyalty and affection of the people.— Here we will find the Irish nation throwing them-

they possessed in the perfection of sublime simplicity, the most soul-moving melody ; never descending to the caterwauling semi-demiquivers of some farraginous, incongruous, unmeaning overtures. A passion for literature, especially history, poetry, and music, was so firmly grafted in the Milesians, that it could not be extirpated without the expiration of the nation. Every clan had hereditary lawyers, hereditary historians, hereditary physicians, hereditary bards, combining poetry and music. Thus family interest was engaged in the improvement and preservation of every art and profession. Every generation was sedulous to hand down the records, containing the rules and improvements of each profession, to their posterity. Hence the Danish wars of two hundred years, and the English and Irish wars of four hundred years continuance, were unable to pluck up the strong and deep roots of Irish learning, until the nation and it fell together ; even still there is no such general passion for learning to be found in the bulk of the people in any other country, working against a current of obstacles and oppressions." The fate of English literature was quite different, because it had not its roots in the constitution. The wars and policy of the Danes extirpated the learning which Ireland had planted ; so that until the Norman conquest, few barons could write their names. " In former times many farms and manors were given by bare word, without writing, only with the sword of the lord on his head-piece, with a lance or a standing goblet, and many tenements with a quill, with a horsecorn, with a bow, with an arrow." So writes Hayward in his life of William the conqueror.

selves between their benefactor and his enemies, and, with all the ardour of the most grateful affection, offering their lives and fortunes in his defence. This was not the extortion of monopoly; it was the kind offering of the heart overflowing with gratitude, and burning for the opportunity to give expression to its sensibility. Writs were sent over to Ireland to bring Richard to justice, but the Irish parliament answered those writs in the memorable language, "that it had ever been customary in their land, to receive and entertain strangers with due support and hospitality." The same assembly soon after enacted laws for the preservation of the duke's person. They declared that Ireland was only to be governed by laws enacted by the king, lords, and commons of Ireland; that this realm hath also its constable and marshal, before whom all appeals are to be made. Richard is again encouraged to embark for England. Backed by the men and treasure of Ireland, he arrived in London, and was declared by the British Parliament successor to Henry. Margaret prepared to oppose him, and the battle of Wakefield, in which Richard opposed the royal army with a disproportioned force, terminated his life, and the hopes of the party.

The result of this celebrated action shook to its centre the English interest in Ireland, and the colony was again assailed on all sides by the incursions of the surrounding chieftains. Tributes were again imposed and paid by the colony, and thus a partial peace was purchased. O'Neil in the north,

O'Brien and MacCarty in the south, received those annual tributes. Thus did the various fluctuation of the houses of York and Lancaster operate with malignant and cruel effect on the peace and comforts of the Irish people, as well as the English colony.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

EDWARD ~~III~~ IV

A. D. **T**HE reign of Edward affords to the reflect-
1461. ing mind, few materials from which either
instruction or entertainment may be derived.
It exhibits a painful picture of vindictive triumph
and party fury, of narrow contracted policy with
regard to Ireland, and avaricious rapacity with re-
gard to the colony.

George, Duke of Clarence, was created viceroy
on the accession of Edward ; and the adherents of
the house of York were honoured with new distinc-
tions, and increased confidence. Sir Rowland
FitzEustace was created baron of Portlester, and
Sir Robert Barnwall baron of Trimbleston. The
Earl of Ormond first fell a victim to the vengeance
of the Yorkists, and an act of attainder was passed
by the Irish parliament against the family of But-
ler in 1462, for adhering to the king's enemies.
Sir John Ormond, brother of the late earl, fled into

Munster, and took up arms against the deputy. The house of Desmond oppose him, and, after a furious engagement, Ormond received a disastrous overthrow. The triumphant Desmond was now appointed viceroy, and, elated with his exaltation, the pride of his demeanour peculiarly mortified his enemies. The sept of Melachlin, the ruling Irish family of Meath, were at this time invaded by one of the most ancient English settlers, called Petit, from whom the family of the Marquis of Lansdown flow. The sept rose in arms ; and Desmond having supported the claims of Petit, the neighbouring clans flew to the relief of Melachlin, routed the army of the deputy, and took the latter prisoner, with most of his distinguished followers. The Earl of Desmond fell into the hands of an honourable enemy ; and, as if mortified by the generous treatment he experienced, it was during his administration we find the most cruel and fiend-like enmity manifested towards the native Irish. Desmond being restored to his government by the generosity of an enemy who despised his power, did not provide against the dangers which threatened the English interests on all sides of the pale. The sept of O'Brieff issued from the south, crossed the Shannon, and expelled the English settlers of Munster. They peaceably negociated with the native Irish in Leinster, Argial, and Breffney (or Cavan), and hung over the English pale with dreadful denunciations. The Irish chieftains were content with forcing the common enemy to the disgraceful payment of tribute ; and, as usual, retired within their respective ter-

ritories, without striking at the root of the sufferings of their country. Such mortifying defeats and indignities exposed Desmond to much obloquy, and afforded peculiar triumph to his enemies.

The bishop of Meath charges Desmond with oppression and extortion, and both parties send forward their respective representations to the British monarch. The Irish parliament address the king in favour of Desmond, and implore his majesty to give no credence to any accusers of the earl. With such honourable testimonials, Desmond presents himself before Edward, silences the accusations of his opponents, and returns to Ireland to indulge a thoughtless triumph over his enemies.

In 1465, we find this deputy, with his catholic parliament of the pale, enacting laws which at once excite our indignation and our ridicule ; sanguinary and absurd, impotent and furious—the offspring of folly and malignity. The torments they give birth to, turn on the inventor ; and the catholic English colony will hereafter be seen suffering in property and in person from those very laws that were directed by them against the devoted Irish. They passed an act setting a price upon the heads of Milesians going from, or coming into, any part of the pale, if he or they be not in company with an Englishman of good repute, wearing English apparel. They also passed an act, that every Irishman living among the English settlers, shall change their surnames, speak English, and wear English apparel. They enacted that no ship or other vessel of any foreign country shall go for fish to Irish

counties. What spirit prompted this infernal confederacy against the laws of God and humanity? Was it religion or superstition? No. Was it because the Irish were a barbarous nation? No; this cannot be urged by such legislators.—Why did this catholic pale thus endeavour to make the humane and tender, savage and ferocious—the hospitable Irishman, the merciless barbarian? The Irish reader will immediately answer—because England so ordered it; because the monopoly of the pale which she either wickedly or foolishly cherished, was insatiable for Irish blood, and should be gratified. Could a protestant parliament enact laws more barbarous than these we have quoted by a catholic parliament? Certainly not; but a protestant parliament has followed the footsteps of this catholic parliament, and has obeyed the instructions of England with equal fidelity.

Irishmen should never confound the errors of their countrymen with the crimes of England, nor contend with each other when the prolific source of all Ireland's wrongs stands before them. Yet Mr Leland writes of this parliament, that “the statutes it passed were particularly calculated not only for the defence of the pale, but for the refining the manners of its inhabitants, and forming them by the English model.” Mr Leland's idea of refinement is somewhat singular, if it can only be brought about by the establishment of principles which tear from the human breast the finest feelings of our nature, proclaim war against our neigh-

bour, and level humanity with the beast of the field, or the fowl of the air.

The deputy, Desmond, who thus *refined* the manners of the Irish, shortly after his honourable labours, was brought to the block by his enemies. Kildare repaired to the British monarch, and made such representations as restored the family of the Geraldines to their ancient power and authority. The Irish parliament co-operate with Kildare in visiting on the enemies of his house the most merciless vengeance. The temporary revolution effected in England by the Earl of Warwick restoring Henry VI. to the throne, left Kildare undisturbed in the government of the English colony. "The measures he adopted," says Mr Taaffe, "for the defence of the pale, demonstrate the nullity of its resources, and that it was not power, but will, the ancient proprietors wanted, to pluck that deleterious thorn out of their side."

The reader will find but little entertainment in perusing the detail of the family quarrels of the Butlers and Fitzgeralds. A native of England is appointed deputy by Edward IV. without consulting the colonists. He was opposed and disowned; Kildare kept the lieutenancy: Keating, governor of the castle, refused him entrance; Kildare formed an alliance with Con O'Nial of the north, which fixed and established his influence, and made it almost imperative on the British monarch to retain him as deputy. He continued viceroy during the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. a period which affords no subject to the historian worthy of

record. We read the same round of internal feuds and animosities, terminating in civil war and blood, and the same scenes of violence to perpetuate and extend the English interests, without regard to the obligations of justice, of humanity, or religion.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

HENRY VII.

A. D. 1480. **T**HE triumphs of Henry VII. over the House of York, were heard in Ireland with feelings of deep and sincere regret. The vices of Richard III. were unknown and unexperienced, and the virtues of his ancestor lived in the grateful recollection of the Irish nation. It would be reasonably expected, that the policy of the conqueror would have suggested the expediency of placing in the administration of his Irish government, the partizans of the house of Lancaster; but, whether from fear, or from a more profound policy, he continued the friends of the house of York in the enjoyment of all the honours and emoluments of the vice-regal administration. He reposed confidence in the Earl of Kildare as lord lieutenant, and the brother of the earl as his Irish chancellor. Rowland, lord Portlester, another zealous Yorkist, continued treasurer, with all the old

officers of state, and former privy council. Were we to form an opinion of the motive which actuated Henry to preserve the ministers of York in the administration of Ireland, we should be inclined to conclude, that the formidable power of the English lords of the pale, who were devoted to the interests of the house of York, could more easily be gained over by the affected confidence of the monarch, than restrained or put down by the violence of his jealousy, or the terror of his arms.

The desperate resistance of Keating, the prior of Kilmainham, to the appointment of Lumley, who was selected by Henry to succeed him in his ecclesiastical dignities, fully demonstrates the strength of the York party in Ireland. Keating ordered Lumley to be seized and thrown into prison, in opposition to the threats of Henry. The Earl of Kildare governed in Ireland without any restraint, even from the rivalry or the jealousy of the great barons of the colony. Desmond slumbered in the lazy pride of rude magnificence; he boasted of his exemption from the labours of legislation, and left the administration of the colony to the sole direction of Kildare. In England, the British monarch manifested the most relentless and unforgiving spirit against the house of York. The young Earl of Warwick, son of the unhappy Duke of Clarence, was committed to close custody,—the daughter of Edward was treated with coldness and neglect by her husband Henry,—and the friends of the Yorkists were pursued on all sides by attainders, forfeitures, and confiscations.

The widow of Edward IV. could no longer repress her indignation at the treatment of her daughter, the relentless persecutions of her friends, and the unwearied spirit with which Henry insulted the feelings of the family. She secretly consulted with his enemies, and industriously encouraged the disposition to disaffection throughout the kingdom.

Henry having received information from Ireland, which excited his apprehensions of the fidelity of Kildare, he summoned the latter to repair to his court; who artfully evaded the royal mandate, by a parliamentary representation of the dangers to be incurred by his absence from the administration of Irish affairs. At length, the suspicions of Henry were confirmed by the developement of a scheme conceived by an ecclesiastic of Oxford, to make an experiment on the disaffection of Henry's subjects. Richard Lemon, a monk of Oxford, prevailed on a youth called Lambert Simnel, to represent the Earl of Warwick, who, as report stated, had escaped from confinement. Simnel, being possessed of considerable address, personated the young earl with so much success, that he was adopted by persons of the highest consequence and distinction, as a fit instrument by which an effort could be made to effect a revolution of the government. Though Simnel sustained his part with ease and dignity, Ireland (a country where the young Warwick was least known, and where a discovery of the imposition was least probable), was considered by the conspirators as the fittest theatre on which this cu-

rious and interesting drama ought to be acted. The national zeal of Ireland for the house of York pointed out that country as the certain asylum of Warwick, and the grand support on which he might rely to advance his pretensions to the throne.

Simnel, and his attendant the monk, arrived in Dublin, where he was received with all the warmth of a people grateful for the services rendered to them by his ancestor. The whole colony, with some few exceptions, embraced his cause. Kildare summoned the council. Simnel was conveyed in pomp to the castle of Dublin; received the homage and acclamations of his numerous adherents, with the most gracious dignity; was entertained and treated as a sovereign, and in a few days publicly proclaimed king, by the name of Edward VI.

Henry, who was considerably alarmed at the extraordinary scene then acting in his Irish dominions, proceeded to take such steps as were calculated to check the growing danger. He seized the queen dowager, who was supposed to be the principal agent in the conspiracy, and committed her to a nunnery. To demonstrate the imposition practised on his subjects by the artifices of his enemies, he ordered the real Earl of Warwick to be taken from the Tower and conducted through the streets of London, where he conversed with some of the principal nobility. The zeal of the Irish colony for the house of York, retorted upon the king the charge of imposition, and upbraided in their turn the credulity of the English nation, who refused to acknowledge Simnel as the real Earl of Warwick. Emissaries

repaired to England to sound the disposition and ascertain the numbers of those who were ready to vindicate and support the claims of the house of York. Ambassadors were sent to the Duchess of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV., who saw with mortification the prosperity and triumphs of the Lancastrians, Francis, Lord Lovel, chamberlain of Richard, and John, Earl of Lincoln, whom Richard III. designed to leave as his successors to the throne, were at that time resident at the court of the Duchess of Burgundy. They immediately embraced the cause of Simnel, and landed in Ireland in the year 1487, with a force of 2000 Flemish troops, under the command of Swaart, a valiant and experienced officer. Animated by such support, the colonists proceeded to the coronation of Simnel. He was conducted in due state to Christ-church, attended by the lord deputy and his officers of state; the Bishop of Meath explained and enforced his right to the crown, even from the pulpit. From the church he was conveyed in pomp to the castle of Dublin, elevated on the shoulders of D'Arcy, chief of a considerable English family of Meath; a ceremony, Mr Leland says, adopted from the native Irish.

The young king convened a parliament; subsidies were granted; the whole administration of government, the procedure of law, and execution of justice, passed some time regularly in the name of Edward VI.

The state of the colony at this period was (even according to colonial writers) very circumscribed;

it seemed to exist rather from the sufferance of the native Irish chieftains, than by its own strength. The names of Kildare, Desmond, and Ormond, commanded respect more as Irish princes, than English lords; more from their connections with the native Irish, to whom they were now a good deal assimilated in manners, than as the descendants of those English barons who invaded Ireland; the resources of the deputy's treasury were inadequate to the expense of a large military establishment; and it ceased, therefore, to be a matter of choice whether he should determine on the invasion of England, aided by Flemish allies. The invasion of England was determined upon, and Simnel, with his allies, landed in Lancashire, at a place called Foudery.

Henry lost no time in endeavouring to repel the invaders. He met the Irish at a village called Stoke, in Nottingham. The desperate valour of the Irish, aided by the discipline of the German veterans, kept the battle a long time doubtful. At length victory declared for Henry. The gallant Swaart, Lord Lovel, Sir Thomas Broughton, and a number of distinguished Irishmen, fell on the field of battle. Among the prisoners were Simnel, and his tutor the priest, who thus closed their short career of imposture and fraud. Henry spared Simnel's life, but consigned him to the menial offices of his kitchen, where he might be the subject of public derision and contempt. Lemon, the clergyman, was thrown into prison, and it is supposed, sacrificed to the vengeance of Henry. Thus terminated one

of the most singular impositions ever practised on a whole nation in the annals of history. This dream of the English colony closed in the most mortifying disappointment and disaster. The vengeance of Henry was averted by the timely acknowledgments of error on the part of Kildare and the principal barons; and the king, pressed by more important considerations in his own country, seized the opportunity the repentance of his subjects offered, and granted amnesty for past offences. The dependence of Henry on the barons of the colony to repel the more formidable efforts of the Irish, who were anxious to extinguish the English interests in Ireland, obliged him to dissemble his indignation at the late effort of his Irish subjects to drive him from his throne.

Soon after, Henry commissioned Sir Richard Edgecombe to go to Ireland, in order that he might there tender the royal pardon to such as would renew their oaths of allegiance. After some remonstrance from Kildare, and a few of the principal barons of the pale, the latter agreed to perform homage and fealty to Henry in the most public manner. Accordingly the Lords Portlester, Gormanston, Slane, Howth, Trimbleston, and Dunsany took the oaths of allegiance. The prelates and abbots of Dublin submitted in like manner. The only persons to whom the royal favour was denied were Plunket, Chief Justice, and Keating, the prior of Kilmainham, who were particularly obnoxious from their distinguished zeal in the cause of the impostor Simnel,

In consequence of the jealousies which arose between Kildare, who took up arms against his monarch, and those barons who had continued faithful in their allegiance, Henry summoned the contending lords to his court, where he exhibited the mock prince, Simnel, in the capacity of butler ; thus mortifying the Irish lords by representing the idol before whom they bent the knee, reduced to the humble and degrading situation of servant to the monarch whom they threatened to depose.

The result of the interview with the English monarch was the reconciliation of all parties. The Irish were dismissed with confidence and assurances of the royal favour. The south and the north of Ireland were disturbed by the struggles of the Earl of Desmond with the O'Carrols of Thomond, and the MacCartys of Desmond, over whom he gained two great victories, which, though not immediately contributing to extend the territories of the colony, had the effect of weakening and dividing the Irish force, and exposing the country hereafter to the more subtle practices of its enemies. In the north, the O'Nials and Tyrconnells waged a sanguinary and destructive war, which the interposition of the deputy could not prevent. About this time a second impostor rose up, called Perkin Warbeck, whose pretensions were encouraged by the intriguing Duchess of Burgundy. Henry seeing the storm approach, took all necessary precautions to guard against its effects. He removed Kildare from the Irish administration, and with him all those officers whom he had reason to suspect favourable to the new conspiracy. Such a change in the government

of Ireland generated all the malignant passions of jealousy and envy among the principal barons of the pale ; and Ormond and Kildare sacrificed to their mutual hatred the solid interests of their sovereign, and the tranquillity and happiness of the colony. Ireland was thus torn by contending factions, when Perkin Warbeck made his appearance in the character of Richard Plantagenet, who was supposed to have escaped from the Tower. He was received with all the honours due to that young prince. The result, however, of the efforts of this impostor in Ireland, were little more than the multiplication of those fruitless struggles between the great barons, which desolated the colony. In addition to those calamities, Ireland was visited with the sweating sickness, a species of malady that raged with horrible fury in London at this period ; and which, Mr Hume says, was not propagated by any contagious infection, but arose from the general disposition of the air, and of the human body—thousands fell victims to it.

The complaints made to Henry of Irish distress and suffering were so great, that he summoned Walter, the archbishop of Dublin, to appear before him with a clear and satisfactory detail of the causes of the calamities under which Ireland then laboured. The archbishop appeared before his monarch, who demanded the reason why “so little advantage had been hitherto derived from the acquisitions of his predecessors in Ireland, notwithstanding the natural wealth and fruitfulness of that country ?” It is written, that the answer of the bishop discovered neither integrity nor penetration. Like many An-

glo-Irishmen who have succeeded him, he fled for refuge from the honest inquiries of his sovereign, to the senseless calumny of the country which he presumed to represent : he told the king the people of Ireland were an idle, wandering, and turbulent people ; and that even the English colony in that country were diseased with the destructive habits of the Irish.

The representations of the bishop had the effect of gratifying the vengeance, if not of healing the wounds of Ireland ; and Kildare, the powerful, was obliged to yield to the stern rebuke of the monarch, who was now better enabled, by his circumstances in England, to act a decided part in the government of his Irish dominions. He therefore selected Sir Edward Poynings, as the person best qualified to extinguish the insolent tyranny of the factious lords. He invested this knight with unlimited powers to hear all complaints, to punish the guilty, and reward the meritorious, as his judgment pointed out. No confidence was reposed by Henry in any of his Irish officers of the colony. He substituted in their places Englishmen of the highest character, and thus determined to strike at the root of that torturing monopoly, which enriches itself with the tears and the miseries of the people it rules over.

Henry sent over an English lord chancellor, an English lord treasurer, English judges and law officers. All embarked with Sir Edward Poynings, and, on his arrival, were sworn of the privy council. It is instructive to observe the effort made by

Henry at this period to establish such an administration in his colony in Ireland, as would render that country in some degree less formidable, and more productive to the royal treasury, than it had heretofore been. It is curious to observe the little shiftings of a narrow and envious policy, and to remark how slow is the progress of that enlightened spirit of legislation, which sees sincere loyalty in the communication of benefit, and estimates the returns of the heart by the magnitude of the privilege conferred. We have hitherto seen England balancing Ormond against Desmond, the north against the south; we are now to see her distrusting all parties, and endeavouring to govern the colony on their ruins.

The reflections of Mr Leland are too valuable not to be introduced, even in this compendium of Irish history. “ The late transactions in Ireland, the bold attempt in favour of Simnel, and the desperate valour displayed by the troops led into England by the Geraldines, had made this country the subject of general discourse and speculation; and the rising spirit of project and inquiry had engaged individuals to search deeply into the revolutions experienced in Ireland since the reign of Henry II. The declension of the English interests, the dispositions, temper, and power of the old natives, the designs and competitions of great lords, the conduct of the king’s officers, and the means of rendering an appendage to the crown of England, in itself so valuable, of real weight and consequence to the general weal.” There is a discourse still ex-

tant in some repositories of curious papers, said to have been presented to the king and council, not later than the present period, in which the affairs of Ireland are copiously examined. The author labours to engage the king in the complete reduction and settlement of this country; his researches are accurate, and his policy judicious. He recounts no less than 60 regions, of different dimensions, all governed by Irish chieftains, after their laws and manners; together with a long catalogue of degenerate English, who had renounced all obedience to government in the several provinces. The pale of English law he confines within the narrow bounds of half the counties of Uriel, Meath, Kildare, Dublin, and Wexford; and the common people of those districts he represents as entirely conforming to the Irish habit and language, although they professed obedience to the laws; so general had been the intercourse of fostering, marriage, and alliance with the enemy. The grievances of those counties, from oppressive exactions, unnatural feuds, expeditions undertaken by deputies from personal animosity or private interest, to the utter ruin of the subject, and without the least advantage to the state; laws forgotten, neglected, and defied; an increasing degeneracy, a general ignorance, and scandalous inattention to instruct and reform the people, are all detailed fully.

The remedies proposed are—a competent force sent out of England, to support the authority of a chief governor of integrity and equity; a strict attention to the training the people to the English art of

war; garrisons stationed so as to awe the Irish enemies and rebels, to put an end to local quarrels, and gradually to reduce the whole body of the inhabitants to obedience; equitable and moderate taxation, substituted in the place of arbitrary impositions: with other particular regulations, many of which were afterwards adopted.—(*Pandarus sive latus populi. M. S. Trin. Col. Dub.*) Such remains of antiquity are not unworthy of notice, as the sentiments and opinions of cotemporaries serve to illustrate and confirm the representations collected from history or records.

In this instrument, we do not find any recommendation to extend the protection of the constitution—to impart its advantages—to cultivate confidence—to promote social and friendly intercourse with the natives—to exhibit a disposition kind and affectionate, to a people most sensible to such endearing sentiments. No; we see more new friends from England recommended: more strong measures, more national distrust. Still it must be acknowledged that throughout this document a milder spirit of equity is discernible than we have before witnessed; and that from this period we may date the dawn of that day which discovered to Englishmen the great and paramount importance of Ireland as a member of the British empire.

The arrival of Sir Edward Poynings in Ireland, promised no extraordinary extension of the colonial territory: his mission seemed to be more directed to a reformation of the colony itself, than the subjugation of the native Irish; and the merit of ex-

tinguishing the wretched factions of the pale, which were eating up the resources of the Irish nation, was reserved for Sir Edward Poynings, whose character and whose talents were particularly calculated to accomplish so desirable an object.

The policy of this chief governor was nothing less than that of the general and extensive reformation of the state ; to put an end to the iniquity of ministers, and the oppositions of the people, as well as to extinguish every remaining spark of disaffection and rebellion. Sir Edward Poynings was opposed by an Irish chieftain named O'Hanlon, in such and so effectual a manner as calls up the anger and contemptible resentment of some colonial writers, at what they call the cowardly warfare of the Irish.

Mr Leland says, that Sir Edward Poynings found the Irish an embarrassing, though not a very honourable enemy. In what did the want of Irish honour consist ? In taking advantage of the various retreats their country afforded, they kept their enemy in perpetual terror and anxiety, without striking a decisive blow ; and thus the Irish defeated the hopes of this aspiring deputy, who was to have conquered the barbarous Irish with so much facility. Sir Edward Poynings was determined that his legislative war against the vices of his subjects of the pale, should obliterate the remembrance of his unsuccessful struggles against the native Irish ; and accordingly, in 1495 he convened a parliament, which commenced the enactment of those laws that were well calculated to curb the licentiousness of the co-

lonial barons, and to liberate the people from those oppressive exactions which the former imposed to such intolerable excess. The taxes paid by the people of the pale were defined, and the power of the nobles was bounded and circumscribed by the law. This parliament of Sir Edward Poynings assimilated the laws of the pale with those of England; for instance, in the important and paramount case of murder, they were forbidden to prosecute the offender in the old Irish method of compelling his sept to pay a fine, but to proceed regularly according to the English law; and this crime of murder, by a severity most expedient and necessary, in times of turbulence, was declared to be high treason. Besides some statutes against individuals, we find, in the proceedings of this famous parliament, an act of attainder passed against Gerald Fitzthomas, Earl of Kildare, for treason and rebellion, corresponding with O'Hanlon, practising the extortion of coyne and livery, and intriguing with the king of the Scots. The vengeance of Sir Edward's parliament was extended to all his adherents and kinsmen, of whom we find a long catalogue attainted of high treason, so as to reduce this noble family, which had so long maintained the first rank in Ireland, to the lowest state of depression and disgrace.

So suspected were the inhabitants of the colony by this chief governor, that it was determined none but English should be entrusted with the care of the principal places of strength, throughout the whole English settlements; and the turbulent and

sedition conduct of the prior of Kilmainham, Keating, suggested another statute, by which an Englishman alone was to be invested with the priory of St John of Jerusalem.

The most memorable law enacted by the parliament of Sir Edward Poynings, and of which English historians have deigned to take some notice, is the law called Poynings' law. The principal provision of which is as follows:—"Whereas many statutes lately made within the realm of England would contribute to the wealth and prosperity of Ireland, if used and executed in the same, it is ordained and established by the authority of parliament, and by the assent of the lords and commons, that all statutes late y made within the realm of England, belonging to the public weal of the same, be deemed good and effectual in law, accepted, used, and executed within this land of Ireland; authorised, approved, and confirmed." Lord Bacon calls this a memorable law, and the first provision for making the statutes of England in force in Ireland; but, as Mr Leland observes, the same provision is made by a statute of the 7th of Edward IV. and the terms of the statute of Poynings contradicts and refutes the idea that the Irish colony resigned their rights to England of making laws for the regulation of its own people. But there was another law, called Poynings' law also, which roused the indignation and fired the pride of Ireland, at a great and memorable period of its history. It is called an act "that no parliament

be holden in Ireland, until the acts be certified into England.”*

The parliament of Sir Edward Poynings yielded to the malignant jealousies of the rivals of Kildare, and pursued that prince with an implacable hosti-

* Sir John Davis, in his celebrated speech to the Irish House of Lords, in the reign of James I., on his appointment to the situation of speaker or chairman of the commons, makes the following observations on this celebrated law of Poynings:—“ In the tenth year of Henry VII. Sir Edward Poynings summoned and held that famous parliament, in which, doubtless, he showed a large heart, and a great desire of a general reformation; and, to that end, procured many general laws to pass, which we find most profitable and necessary for the commonwealth at this day.

“ Among the rest he caused two laws to be made, which may rightly be called *leges legum*, being excellent laws, concerning the laws themselves, whereof one did look backwards to the time past, and gave a great supply to the defects of former parliaments, by confirming and establishing at once in this realm, all the statutes formerly made in England.

“ The other looked forward to the time to come, by providing, that from thenceforth there should be no parliament holden here until the acts which should be propounded were first certified into England, and approved by the king and his council there, and then returned hither, under the great seal of that realm.

“ This latter act,” says Sir John Davis, “ is that we call Poynings’ act, and is, indeed, that act of parliament which is a rule for our parliaments until this day.

“ But these acts,” continued Sir John Davis, “ by Sir Edward Poynings, though they were made and meant for the general good, and gave, indeed, the first overture for the general reformation that hath followed since that time, yet could they not produce so good and so great an effect as was intended by those laws; because that more than three parts in four of this kingdom at least, were then and long after possessed by the Irish, and unreformed English, which were not answerable to the law.”

lity. Sir Edward declined to take cognizance of the various accusations that were so industriously made against Kildare, and sent him prisoner to the British monarch, before whom he should meet the charges of his enemies. Thus the great and leading enemy of the English was put into the possession of Henry ; and Sir Edward Poynings, after the triumphant establishment of his celebrated civil institutions, returned to England, where he was rewarded by his sovereign for his services in Ireland, with the honour of the garter.

The bishop of Bangor succeeded Sir Edward Poynings in the administration of Ireland. During his government, the native Irish, and the degenerate English, were consuming and destroying each other by perpetual contests. In the mean time, his secret and public enemies were busy in their endeavours to poison the mind of Henry against Kildare, who was at length summoned before the British monarch, to answer the host of accusers who were pledged to confront him. The honest, open, and candid demeanour of Kildare won the esteem of Henry, and constituted his best defence against his accusers. An anecdote is told of this Irish nobleman, which illustrates his character in a very striking and remarkable manner. The king desired Kildare to be prepared for his defence, and to provide himself with able counsel, as he feared his cause would require it.—“ Yes, the ablest in the realm,” replied the earl, seizing Henry by the hand, with an uncourtly familiarity ; “ your highness I take for my counsel against these false

knaves." The king smiled at the novelty of this address, and the uncouth compliment to his equity and discernment; his accusers were heard, and, among the numerous accusations which were made against him, there was one which called forth a reply, the simplicity, and candour and manliness of which, at once excited the admiration and astonishment of Henry. Kildare was charged with sacrilegiously burning the church of Cashel to the ground. "Spare your evidence," said Kildare, "I *did* set fire to the church, for I thought the bishop had been in it." His accusers closed their charge with a warm and passionate declaration, that "all Ireland could not govern this earl." "Well, then," replied Henry, "this earl shall govern all Ireland."

Thus the triumph of Kildare was complete; he was restored to his estates and honours, and soon after created viceroy of Ireland. In this situation he displayed that vigilance and activity, which, aided by the late regulations of Sir Edward Poyning's, were well calculated to give permanency to the English interests in Ireland. Connected by family ties with the O'Nials of the north, he quelled his opponents in that quarter, and forced them to a submission. He subdued the south, and conciliated the heads of the principal families—the archbishop of Armagh and the Prince of Ormond. He formed alliances with the most powerful chieftains, and gave his daughter to Uliac of Clanrickard, a powerful lord of Connaught. This Irish chieftain did not treat the daughter of Kildare in a manner

suited to her birth and character ; and the earl represented the indignity by declaring war against Clanrickard, which terminated in one of the most sanguinary battles recorded in Irish annals. Clanrickard was joined by O'Brien, and some Irish associates of Munster. Those of the pale, united with the deputy, were reinforced by O'Nial, his kinsman, and other northern dynasties.

Though the cause of difference between the Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Clanrickard was completely a private one, yet, on this occasion, the entire forces of the colony and of the Irish chieftains were drawn forth, as if the question to be decided was the liberty or the slavery of Ireland. The two armies met at Knoctore, within five miles of Galway, (1492,) and the Irish sustained a dreadful defeat from the superior generalship and skill of Kildare. So pleasing was the information of this great victory to Henry, that he immediately conferred the garter on the Earl of Kildare. The result of this battle was the surrender of Galway and Athunree.

Mr Leland says, that from this reign we may date the first revival of the English power in Ireland, which, from the Scottish war, in the reign of Edward II. had gradually declined into a miserable and precarious state of weakness. The connections which were formed by the Earl of Kildare with the principal Irish chieftains, the activity and generosity of his disposition, the vigour of his arms, and the fidelity of his zeal, established the power of the English crown more firmly than we have hitherto

seen it. Though the pale was not extended, it was secured more effectually than in former reigns ; and though the ignominious tribute paid by the English colony was not withdrawn, yet, from the family connection of the deputy with the principal Irish chieftains, the influence of the English became more extensive than it hitherto had been. Those of the English whose manners and habits became completely Irish, or who, in the language of Mr Leland, had degenerated into the barbarous character of the Irish, were more hostile to the increase of English influence than even the natives themselves. Mr Leland attributes this degeneracy to a lawless spirit of riot and disorder ; but, at the same time, admits, that it may be reasonably imputed to the weakness of English government, and to that good-natured sociability and hospitality by which the Irish were distinguished. The laws forbade all intermarrying with the Irish, but laws were insignificant barriers against the propensities of humanity, and the power of mutual intercourse and affection. Even within the pale, at this period, the Irish manners and language were predominant ; so little progress did England make, by the fury of her policy, or the terror of her arms, among the Irish people.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

HENRY VIII.

A. D. 1509. **T**HE accession of Henry VIII. was productive of little advantage to Ireland. The gaiety of youth, and the influence of adulation, the pride and pomp of royal dignity, the vain pursuit of empty glory in foreign wars and negotiations, the intrigues of foreign courts, their poverty and their venality, the flatteries of the emperor Maximilian, and of Ferdinand of Spain, called off the attention of Henry from the more useful occupation of looking to the settlement of his Irish dominions, and the firm establishment of his power in that valuable member of his empire.

The Earl of Kildare was continued the viceroy of Ireland, and was perpetually engaged in restraining the turbulent and factious spirit of the native Irish, who were no sooner suppressed in one corner of the island, than they rose up in another. At length the death of this celebrated nobleman, in the

year 1513, produced a general sentiment of terror among the friends of English government. In this critical emergency, the council and nobles elected Gerald, the son of the late earl, lord deputy, who manifested the same spirit and energy in the suppression of rebellion, which distinguished his father.

After Gerald had completely restored tranquillity and security to the English colony, he sailed for England to receive further orders from his sovereign. He soon returned, and convened a parliament. In this parliament a subsidy of thirteen shillings on every plowland was granted for ten years to the king. Absentees were heavily taxed, and the use of archery by the colony particularly enforced. Notwithstanding the vigorous and decisive policy with which Gerald had administered the affairs of this colony, the envy and jealousy of a rival family were destined to counteract all his efforts, and again plunge the people into new convulsions.

Thomas Earl of Ormond died at this period, and Peter or Piers Butler succeeded to his immense estates. He saw with impatience the rising power of the family of the Geraldines, and adopted every stratagem which the most ingenious policy could devise, to undermine the house of Kildare in the estimation and confidence of the British monarch. The result was, that Kildare was summoned to answer to the charges that were brought by his enemies.

At this period Henry VIII. was at leisure to devote his mind to the consideration of his Irish affairs; and Cardinal Wolsey pointed out the necessity of no longer confiding in the administration of an Irish viceroy, if his majesty wished to put an end to the feuds and factions with which Ireland had been perpetually distracted;—that a neutral person, a nobleman in no manner connected with the parties and competitions which so long lacerated the country, was the most likely to restore tranquillity, and speedily effect the complete reduction of the common enemy. The present circumstances of Henry with relation to foreign powers, were particularly favourable to the experiment which his minister suggested. He had concluded his treaty with France. Louis had been succeeded by Francis I. Charles V. had not only succeeded to the crown of Spain, but was advanced to the imperial dignity. Henry was courted by those great rivals; he had the honour of being considered the arbitrator of Europe, and his kingdom of England was in profound tranquillity. Such were the circumstances of Henry, when Wolsey called his attention to his Irish dominions.—Thomas, Earl of Surry, was appointed viceroy of Ireland. Kildare was thus removed from the Irish administration, and his enemies gratified.

The Earl of Surry had no sooner assumed the reins of power, than he was compelled to take the field against Con O’Nial, distinguished among his countrymen by the title of *boccagh*, or the limper. The latter, finding that Surry was better prepared for resistance than he had at first supposed, sent an

embassy to the deputy, and disavowed all intention of hostility. Mr Leland says that this submission of so powerful a chieftain was considered as a favourable presage of the general reformation of the entire island ; and it is recorded that the king had the discernment and the candour to declare his opinion, that until all the inhabitants were admitted to the benefit of English law, permanent tranquillity could never be effected in Ireland. Surry was ordered by Henry to confer the honour of knighthood on the well affected chieftains of the north. A collar of gold was presented to O'Nial, and a royal invitation was given to that chieftain to visit the court of the British monarch. Had Earl Surry been permitted to examine into the administration of Ireland, the equity and moderation of his government, and the firmness of his determinations, might have prevented the recurrence of those factions and divisions which disgraced and impoverished the country ; but, as Mr Leland truly remarks, it was the unhappiness of Ireland, that an English governor, who had abilities to pursue any deliberate scheme of reformation, was generally so necessary to the more urgent interests of the crown, that he could not long be spared to this service ; or so ill supported and supplied from England, that he could not continue it with honour and with advantage.

Surry, after two years of a wise and equitable administration of Ireland, was summoned by his sovereign to the command of the British army against France. He was succeeded by Owen, Earl of Richmond, the inveterate enemy of Kildare. The weak-

ness of this governor gave encouragement to the turbulent and rebellious chieftains of Ireland to renew their contests ; and perhaps the divisions among the Irish protected the colony against the imbecility of its governor. Mr Leland relates an anecdote which illustrates the fancied or real importance of those dynasties into which Ireland was then partitioned, and also demonstrates the miserable weakness of the English colony at this period. Mac Gilpatrick, the Irish chieftain of Ossory, had been insulted by the viceroy, Earl of Ormond. In all the dignity of offended majesty, he determined to apply to the king of England for redress. He sent forward his ambassador, who appeared at the chapel door where Henry was going to his devotions ; and advancing with a composed and undismayed gravity of deportment, delivered his commission in these words : “ *Sta pedibus, domine rex ;—dominus meus Gillapatricius, me misit ad te, et jussit dicere, quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te.*” What satisfaction Henry gave to the Irish chieftain, Mac Gilpatrick, or whether any, is not known ; but the anecdote is illustrative of the manners of the times, as well as the high opinion the Irish prince entertained of his royal dignity.

The history of Ireland, at this period, is little more than a history of the struggles of the principal chieftains for ascendancy over each other—the unfortunate inhabitants being the perpetual victims of ambition, of cruelty, or of caprice. In 1528, Sir William Skeffington was created viceroy ; and in a short time, we find this English knight undermined

in the royal favour by the representations of Kildare, and the latter appointed deputy. The death of Cardinal Wolsey confirmed the power of Kildare; he ceased to be content with the humble and secondary honours of viceroy; he affected the rude grandeur of a king, and was surrounded by those lords of the old Irish race, who had ever been most hostile to the English power; he married two of his daughters to O'Connor of Offaly, and O'Carroll, two powerful chieftains. Kildare treated those laws of the pale with scorn which forbade such connections. The extension of his own power was his chief object, and this violent and zealous partizan monopolized all the honours and emoluments of the state.

Those Englishmen of rank and information, who had extensive settlements in Ireland, began to apprehend that the result of the violent dictatorial measures of Kildare would be, perhaps, the destruction of their properties, because they might lead to a complete overthrow of the English power in Ireland. They trembled for the precarious state of the connection; and they communicated their apprehensions, and called upon Henry to interpose with all his power, to prevent the ruin which the councils of Kildare must bring on his Irish dominions. They represented to the English sovereign the confined extent of the English laws and manners, language and habits,—they stated, that they were limited to the narrow circle of 20 miles,—they described, in strong and glowing terms, the exactions and oppressions which they suffered, the

enormous jurisdictions of the English lords, the destructive mutability of their government; and, lastly, they supplicated their monarch, that he would be graciously pleased to entrust the charge of his Irish government to some loyal subject sent from his realm of England, whose sole object should be the honour and interest of the crown, unconnected with the Irish factions, and uninfluenced by partial favour or affection.

Kildare was summoned to appear before his sovereign, in consequence of these representations; and, notwithstanding the various artifices adopted by Kildare to excuse his obedience to the royal will, he was obliged to resign his government into the hands of his son Thomas, a youth of 22 years, and repair to England. The difficulties of intercourse between London and Dublin, at this period (1534) were so great, that no accurate intelligence was for a length of time obtained, relative to the fate of the Earl of Kildare, after his interview with Henry. Reports were circulated that he had been thrown into prison and poisoned. So dexterous were the enemies of the house of Kildare, that young Lord Thomas, the viceroy, was confirmed in the persuasion that his father was put to death. He consulted with his Irish associates, and thoughtlessly plunged into a desperate rebellion. Attended by a body of 160 followers, he entered the city of Dublin, rushed into the council, then assembled in Mary's Abbey, and resigning the sword of state, declared he was determined to rely upon his own arms, and the assistance of his brave companions. Cromer, the

primate and chancellor, remonstrated with this rash and violent youth, but he remonstrated in vain. The silken lord, as the Irish bards styled him, rushed forth at the head of his Irish train. The Irish septs joined him, and traversed the pale, exacting an oath of fidelity from the inhabitants. Emissaries were dispatched by Lord Thomas to the pope, and to the Emperor Charles, soliciting succours in support of his rebellion. Lord Thomas laid waste the fertile fields of Fingal, and threatened Dublin with fire and sword. He proposed to his rivals the Butlers, that all past animosities and complaints should be buried in oblivion; that the independence of their commerce should be preferred, and, if possible, asserted; and that Ireland should be divided between the Geraldines and the Butlers. The proposal was insolently rejected; and the devastation of Ossory, the territory of the Butlers, immediately followed. Dublin was besieged by the rebel chieftain; and, had it not been for the seasonable supplies of soldiers and money from England, must have fallen into the hands of Lord Thomas. Lord Thomas retreated into Connaught, to practise with the Irish chieftains; and, if possible, to procure a force which might enable him to meet the governor with his new and increased force. After many desperate contests with the king's troops, the young and imprudent Lord Thomas was abandoned by his followers, and left to repent the wild and precipitate scheme in which he involved so many of his innocent and brave countrymen. He was sent into England a prisoner,

and was there sacrificed to the vengeance of the enraged Henry. Before he fell a victim to his folly, he learned that his father, for whose supposed death he first engaged in rebellion, was still living. Henry was not satisfied with the single life of Lord Thomas. In the insatiable fury of his rage, this sanguinary and infamous monster smuggled over to England the five uncles of Lord Thomas, who, though innocent of the crime with which they were charged, were sacrificed to the vengeance of a relentless despot. Such was the disastrous fate of a young nobleman, who is described by the historian as possessing a captivating person, manners the most popular and interesting, and a courage which no danger nor no difficulty could appal. The noblest feelings of our nature first impelled this young lord to draw his sword against the laws of his country; and the martial ambition with which he was fired by the praises and sycophancy of his followers, robbed him of that prudence and sound discretion which would have rendered him an ornament to his country.

We have now arrived at that period of Irish history which gave birth to new sources of calamity, and new causes of national distraction and suffering. A new era opens upon us; and the accumulated opinions of ages, fenced round by the terrors of power, and the fears of prejudice, are assailed by the bold and intrepid hand of innovation. We shall behold that king of England, who obtained from the pope the high and flattering title of defender of the faith, severing his kingdom from the church of

Rome,—sacrificing his religion to his passions,—opening the flood-gates of error, and letting in an inundation of opinions as mutable as they were wild, and fleeting as they were uncertain. We behold the human mind broke loose, and sent adrift upon the wide and tempestuous ocean of speculation,—the abuses which disfigured the religion of Rome (and what system of 1500 years standing would not be corrupted by human passions?) magnified into abominations,—the power of the pope, which the civilized world had been accustomed to revere, denominated despotism,—and to rebel against that religion which had so often sheathed the sword of revolution, and illuminated the darkness of barbarism, was now considered the best evidence of liberal and enlightened minds, and the best service which the learned could render their country. Mr Taaffe, speaking of the Reformation, has the following just observations: “ English historians, as well as their Irish partizans, give such accounts of this Reformation begun by Henry VIII. as favour their own party, and for want of knowing the real, attributed to imaginary causes, its tardy and small progress in Ireland. That arbitrary and cruel tyrant never meant any alteration in the creed or ritual he had learned, but solely thirsted for money and pleasure. To indulge his capricious lusts he created the schism; to acquire money, and also to deprive the pope of partizans, he suppressed monasteries, and seized their estates and moveables. He had too much need of partizans, to lock up his vast plunder of ecclesiastical property in his own

coffers. He prudently distributed a great portion of it among men of rank and talent, whom he thus interested to espouse his innovations; adding withal, such titles of honour and distinction as generally captivate human vanity. With these means, and the exercise of unlimited power, the authority of an obsequious parliament, the concurrence of a corrupt prelacy, and the general timidity and procrastinating policy of English catholics, the schism was completed in England—in Ireland it met greater opposition.” Why in Ireland the Reformation should meet with greater opposition than in England may be accounted for, without having recourse to the odious and humiliating causes stated by Mr Leland, and other advocates of the reformed religion.

The people of Ireland were more interested in the preservation of their religion and the protection of their priesthood than the people of England, because there were a fewer number of abuses to be complained of; fewer examples of hypocrisy and fraud to be found in Ireland than in England. In the former, the minister of religion was never detected making the sacred functions of his office the instruments of his ambition or his aggrandizement. Here he did not feed on public credulity, nor amass treasure at the expence of the public reason. Here the altar was not bartered for the favour of the court, or the smiles of corruption. The Irish clergy exercised hospitality, the native virtue of their country; their abbeys were seats of literature and humanity. To clothe the naked, to feed

the hungry, to relieve the sick, were their characteristic duties. The superior chastity of the Irish clergy (attested by foreign writers) above those of surrounding nations, was an insuperable barrier to the principles of the rapacious and lascivious reformer. The Irish abhorred the plundering and schismatic schemes of the rapacious Henry VIII. because they foresaw the decline of Christianity, in the abolition of that unity and universality which is the grand principle of the catholic church, and the certain preservative of the Christian doctrine. They foresaw that the church of England, torn from the main body of the faithful, would, like a branch torn from a tree, wither and produce insects ; and that a schismatical limb of the catholic church, severed from the communion of the faithful, would decay, and be overrun with innumerable heresies. They foresaw that reform, effected by the vilest and most infamous instruments, by substituting reason for authority, sapped the foundation of revealed religion, and let loose the most destructive and desolating passions of the human heart. The Irish, therefore, holding firmly by the anchor of their old and venerated faith, buffeted the storms of reformation, and to this hour exhibit a nation professing sober and rational religion ; while the neighbouring country (England) is distracted with conflicting sectaries, like the waves of the ocean, each burying the other in eternal oblivion.

Three hundred years have now elapsed since this great and extraordinary revolution of the human mind took place ; and those who have the volume

of history before them, can best discover the advantages or the evils which have flowed to mankind from the destruction of that unity and universality of religious doctrine which preserved the peace of nations for so many centuries. In 1536, Henry VIII. summoned a convocation in England, to deliberate on the necessity of making a new translation of the scriptures. Tindal had formerly given to the world a translation, which the clergy complained of as very inaccurate and unfaithful. It was therefore proposed, in the convocation summoned by Henry, that a new translation be made, which could not be liable to any objection. The arguments made use of, at this period, in defence of the principles and views of the reformers, and of the consequences of the reformation of the human mind, as well as the arguments made use of by the advocates of the old religion, in opposition to the innovation recommended by the reformers, are worthy of the serious and deliberate consideration of every man, who, seduced by the specious sentiment of liberal and enlightened toleration, encourages the principle of leaving to each individual the formation of his own religious tenets, or the profession of his own religious doctrines.

The arguments of the reformers of 1536 have been the prolific source of the innumerable sects which now cover the face of England: which have divided, and subdivided, and distracted the protestant congregations, and have at length exposed the divine religion of Christ to the scoffs, and sneers, and sarcasms of the deist and the atheist. Mr

Hume has preserved those arguments for and against the reformers; he has weighed them in the philosophic balance; and we will now leave it to our reader to determine on which side truth, justice, and common sense lie, and whether the principles of Leo X. or of Henry VIII. are at this day most deserving the respect and the deference of mankind. We will give the argument in Mr Hume's words; they are prophetic of the consequences which mankind has experienced, and conclusive against those latitudinarian doctrines which block-heads affect, because some philosophers are found among their supporters. In 1536, the friends of the reformation asserted that "nothing could be more absurd than to conceal in an unknown tongue the word itself of God, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which, for the purpose of universal salvation, had published that salutary doctrine to all nations: that if this practice was not very absurd, the artifice was at least barefaced, and shewed a consciousness, that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text, dictated by supreme intelligence: that it was now necessary for the people, so long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of ecclesiastics were founded on that charter, which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven; and that as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the pretensions of different sects, the proper materials for decision, and, above

all, the holy scriptures, should be set before them ; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had somewhat obscured, be again, by their means, revealed to mankind." Such was the language of the first English reformers, flattering to the pride, and grateful to the vanity of the human mind.

Let us now turn to the reasons which were given by the advocates of the old religion, and the enemies of innovation. The favourers of the ancient religion maintained, that " the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes, was a mere cheat, and was itself a very barefaced artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to seduce them from those pastors, whom the laws, whom ancient establishments, whom heaven itself had appointed for their spiritual direction : that the people were, by their ignorance, their stupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to choose their own principles ; and that it was a mockery to set materials before them, of which they could not possibly make any proper use : that even in the affairs of common life, and the temporal concerns which lay more within the compass of human reason, the laws had, in a great measure, deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour : that theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehension ; and that ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could

not be fully assured of a just decision, except by the promise made them in scripture, that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her: that the gross errors adopted by the wisest heathens, proved how unfit men were to grope their own way, through their profound ignorance; nor would the scriptures, if trusted to their own judgment, be able to remedy—on the contrary, they would augment those fatal illusions: that sacred writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, was exposed to so many apparent contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon which could be entrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude; that the poetical style in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: that a thousand sects must arise, which would pretend, each of them, to derive its tenets from the scripture; and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious arguments, to deceive silly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the most monstrous principles: that, if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and that it was evidently better, without further contest or inquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more secure establishments.”

Has not the history of the last three hundred years most unanswerably verified and established the truth and the wisdom of those arguments? Have not the fantastic and whimsical wanderings of the human mind, on the subject of religion, completely demonstrated the good sense of that argument, which says, "how unfit men were to grope their own way through their profound ignorance, and that the scriptures, if construed by the fallible judgment of each individual, would only entangle him in new embarrassment, and involve him in new ignorance?" The experiment of seeing with our own eyes has been tried; and what has been the consequence? A thousand sects have arisen, each more absurd than the other; and the protestant reformed religion, the most rational of all, is broken up into a thousand different forms, which distract the reason and corrupt the hearts of its followers.

That great abuses crept into the old establishment of the catholic church, that great and insulting frauds were practised, that the terrors of the priest were made tributary to his ambition, and that the thunders of the church were often wielded by the hand of earthly corruption and despotism, will be admitted by every candid reader of the papal history; but that the evils flowing from the abuses of the ancient church, were much less destructive to the interests, and the peace, and the harmony of mankind, than the chaos and confusion which flowed from the wild and desolating principles of the reformers, the cool observer of their progress, for

the last three centuries, cannot hesitate to acknowledge. The admirers of the reformation have attributed to its influence, those consequences, which perhaps are most justly attributable to that most powerful instrument of human information and happiness—the discovery of printing. Had the reformation never taken place—had Henry VIII. never existed—had mankind the good fortune to have kept within those bounds, beyond which the ungovernable passions of this fanatical monarch swept himself and his people, the press would have gradually reformed the abuses of fifteen hundred years growth; the public mind would have been enlightened, and public opinion would have peaceably driven into the shade those shameless superstitions, which disgraced the religion of Christ, usurped the liberty of the human mind, and depressed the honest industry of man. But the rage of reformation rushed into the extremity of a pestilential fanaticism, and the enlightened opponents of papal bigotry were burning the faithful adherents of the old religion at the stake, and perpetrating all the excesses of the most ignorant supporters of catholic doctrine.

The reformation produced those scenes of blood with which every page of English history, for almost two centuries, is full. The fanaticism of Mary and Elizabeth, the furious persecuting spirit of the Stuarts, the more desolating hypocrisy of Cromwell, and the sanguinary statute book of Anne, were the fruit of this, the reforming principle, brought into life by the most brutal tyrant that ever disgraced a throne. On the other hand, the reformation alarmed

the minds, roused the apprehensions, and whetted the swords of the followers of the ancient religion. A war was commenced of the new against the old church; and the world was deluged with blood, distracted with horror, and torn up by all the furies of a desperate fanaticism. Such have been the consequences of the reformation, according to the evidence of history; yet the great and powerful mind of Mr Hume can see much good flowing to mankind from the triumph of the reformers; and the same pen which is in one page recording the miseries that his country suffered from this tremendous visitation, in another coolly felicitates mankind on the vast advantages which flowed to the human race, from the murders, and lusts, and rapacity of Henry VIII.

Mr Hume, speaking of the catholic religion, previous to Henry's first efforts at reformation, observes, "The great increase of monasteries, if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion, and every other disadvantage attending that communion, seems to have an inseparable connection with those religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplication of holidays, all those fetters on liberty and industry, were ultimately derived from the authority and insinuation of monks, whose habitations being established every where, proved so many colonies of superstition and folly." Again he says, "The authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and by

stretching beyond what it was possible for any human principles or prepossessions to sustain. The right of granting indulgences had, in former ages, contributed extremely to enrich the holy see, but being openly abused, they served to excite the first commotions and oppositions in Germany. A way was proposed for checking the exorbitancy of superstition,* and breaking those shackles by which

* Mr Hume might have seen the powerful republic of Venice, rising up in the neighbourhood of the papal tyranny, and displaying a strength and extent of resources, which excited the apprehensions of the most powerful monarchs of Europe. It does not appear that the catholic religion cramped the industry, or that the papal power palsied the arms of the Venetians. Mr Robertson, in his admirable view of the state of Europe in the middle centuries, thus speaks of the power and greatness of the commonwealth of Venice:—"It is not, however, by its military, but by its naval and commercial power, that the importance of the Venetian commonwealth must be estimated. The latter constituted the real force and nerves of the State. The senate encouraged the nobles to trade, and to serve on board the fleet; they became merchants and admirals; they increased the wealth of their country by their industry; they added to its dominions by the valour with which they conducted its naval armaments.—Commerce was an inexhaustible source of opulence to the Venetians. All the nations in Europe depended upon them, not only for the commodities of the east, but for various manufactures, fabricated by them alone, or finished with a dexterity and elegance unknown in these countries. From this extensive commerce the State derived such immense supplies, as concealed those views in its constitution, which I have mentioned; and enabled it to keep on foot such armies as were not only an overmatch for the force which any of its neighbours could bring into the field, but were sufficient to contend for some time with the powerful monarchs beyond the Alps. During its struggles with the princes united against it by the league of Cambray, the republic

all human reason, policy, and industry, had been so long encumbered. The prince, it may be supposed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and, except when blinded by ignorance or by bigotry, would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent its abuses. And, on the whole, there followed from those revolutions very beneficial consequences; though, perhaps, neither foreseen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting them."

That mankind have derived any solid or substantial advantages from the wars and massacres, the persecutions and sufferings, which the same able historian gives us a faithful history of, and to which humanity was the victim, from the period of the reformation, in a much greater degree than history can furnish at any former period, of the same duration, will be much doubted by the philanthropist, who estimates human advantages by human happi-

levied sums which, even in the present age, would be deemed considerable; and while the king of France paid exorbitant interest for the money advanced to him, and the emperor, eager to borrow, but destitute of credit, was known by the name of Maximilian the moneyless, the Venetians raised whatever sums they pleased, at the moderate premium of five per cent."

Such is the history of a great republic, in the neighbourhood of that influence which Mr Hume and Mr Robertson charge with withering the energies of mankind, degrading its spirit, and rising on the ruins of human liberty.

ness, and whose heart sickens at the relations of the mutual and recriminating cruelties of the catholic and the protestant, the presbyterian and the churchman, for the last three hundred years. If the human mind has arrived at its present expanded and enlightened epoch, by the instrumentality of the reforming spirit, and by the bold rebellion against the accumulated wisdom and experience of centuries, let it not be forgotten that the human heart has waded through an ocean of affliction ; and that the miserable exhibitions of the struggles of intolerance have more than counterbalanced the advantages which the philosopher will deduce from the dignity of mental independence, or emancipation from the chains of credulity. Still does mankind smart under the consequences of the glorious reformation, and still is the human heart visited with all the merciless persecutions of intolerance from that power, which boasts of professing a liberal and enlightened religion.

Ireland stood firm amidst the storm of contending sects, wrapped up in the sanctity of her priesthood, and protected by the ignorance of the preachers of the reformation.* Connected with the most

* Mr Leland says, in his history of this period, that " even within the English pale, (viz. the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, and Kildare), the Irish language was become so predominant, that laws were repeatedly enacted to restrain it, but in vain. In those tracts of Irish territory which intersected the English settlements, no other language was at all known ; so that here the wretched flock was totally inaccessible to those strangers who were become their pastors."

furious and vindictive power, exposed to all the arts of intrigue, and all the measures of violence, she exhibited the rare and singular spectacle of a nation determined to prefer extermination to a surrender of that faith on which she conceived her everlasting salvation depended. The unwearied tyranny of England for 400 years preceding the reformation, secured the allegiance of Ireland to that principle, which even in a temporal point of view, had often flung its shield over her people. The power of the pope had often stopped the rigour of English domination, and more than once have we seen Rome appealed to, as moderator between the English throne and the Irish peasant. Ireland, therefore, clung to that path which had been her security on earth, and her hope in heaven. Eighteen hundred years have rolled by, and the catholic and Christian doctrine has maintained its purity in Ireland, though assailed by corruption, by ferocious fanaticism, and unwearied bigotry. During that period she has been loyal, though persecuted, and always ready to pour out her blood for that very power which endeavoured to extinguish her : a great and instructive lesson to England, to make no farther experiment on catholic Ireland, but rather to consider whether the truest allegiance is not consistent with her religious doctrines, and the best subjects with her religious principles. It is not the province of a history like the present to enter into any theological discussions ; to make a comparison between the doctrines of this and of that sect ; to prefer the protestant to the catholic religion, or the

catholic religion to the protestant; or the presbyterian religion to either; but it is the duty of the historian, however limited his plan, to point out the *temporal* advantages or disadvantages which have flowed to mankind from the greatest revolution the human mind ever experienced: to ascertain, by a comparison of historical facts, whether the happiness of man has been promoted, or his mind advanced, by the overthrow of those religious principles which held the Christian world together for fifteen hundred years: whether charity to each other, benevolence, and philanthropy, have flowed from the same source which deluged Europe with blood—created divisions among men, that time has not been able to heal, and armed the civil authority of all Christian countries with the remorseless weapons of fanaticism and intolerance.

The illustrious and eloquent Robertson has devoted many pages of his history of Charles V. to demonstrate the glorious and triumphant result to mankind, from the rise and progress of the reformation. This able and enlightened historian, as well as Mr Hume, can see no calamities, no misfortunes, no fatal and disastrous events in the history of the reformation; all is one uninterrupted course of illumination. The fancy of the historian is at a loss to describe the glories which mankind have reaped from the extinction of papal supremacy. The human mind is raised from degradation to a dignified assertion of its right; * and the contentions of Lu-

* Doctor Robertson, in that part of the history of Charles V. where he takes a review of the political constitutions and civil

ther, and Zuinglius, and Calvin, with the established opinions of mankind, are considered by Mr Ro-

governments of Europe, during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, bears no weak testimony to the illustrious example of political spirit and national independence manifested by the catholic states of Europe, though acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of the pope. Though numberless examples can be found in the volumes of English history to establish the fact, that a faithful adherence to the doctrines of the catholic religion were never incompatible with the most rigid assertion of human right; though it may be recollected, that catholics are the founders of English freedom, and the framers of Magna Charta,—yet, as Mr Robertson maintains the opinion, that the reformation was the great cause of the political, as well as religious liberties of mankind, it would be well to observe his description of the political sentiments, and political institutions of the Spanish nation in the 14th and 15th centuries—a people most zealous in their attachment to the spiritual supremacy of the papal power. Protestant England exhibits no stronger example of public spirit, nor no greater anxiety for circumscribing the power of its sovereigns, or asserting the rights and privileges of the people.

“ In Arragon,” writes Mr Robertson, “ the form of government was monarchical, but the genius and maxims of it were purely republican. The kings, who were long elective, retained only the shadow of power; the real exercise of it was in the cortes, or parliament of the kingdom.” And again, “ It is evident, from a bare enumeration of the privileges of the Arragonese cortes, as well as of the rights belonging to the Justiza, that a very small portion of power remained in the hands of the king. The Arragonese seem to have been solicitous that their monarchs should know and feel this state of impotence to which they were reduced. Even in swearing allegiance to their sovereign, an act which ought naturally to be accompanied with professions of submission and respect, they decreed an oath in such a form as to remind him of his dependence on his subjects. ‘ We,’ said the Justiza, in the name of his high-spirited barons, ‘ who are each of us as good, and who are altogether more powerful than you, promise obedience to your government, if you maintain our rights

bertson as the inspirations of Heaven, and the gigantic efforts of transcendent minds. The miseries which such schisms entailed on mankind are flung into the shade ; and the blood flows from the scaffold, or on the field, without a single expression of regret from the philosophic historian, or a single observation on the fatal and calamitous cause which produced such events. It is curious to observe the tone and the expression in which this celebrated historian speaks of Luther, the chieftain of the reformers. The mild and gentle spirit of Sir Thomas More, who adhered to the religion of his ancestors, is forgotten. The great men who, illustrious for learning, wisdom, and virtue, resisted the rebellious and distracting principles of the reformers, are passed by unnoticed ; and Luther, as if he had monopolized the virtues and the knowledge of the civilized world, is held up by Mr Robertson, as the immediate agent of Heaven, commissioned to burst the fetters imposed by papal superstition on the human mind. Mr Robertson, in his History of the reign of Charles V. thus speaks of the

and liberties ;—if not—not.” Can the reader suppose, that the followers of Luther could have asserted in language more strong, or in sentiment more lofty, the dignity and independence of the human mind ? But it would appear from Mr Robertson, that Martin Luther was not only the apostle of salvation to man, but also the first man who had the courage to stand up for the rights of human nature. The catholic religion, no more than the protestant, makes man a slave. In both, great and brilliant examples of the most exalted and dignified nature are to be found—an Alfred and an Henry VIII., a Mary and a William, have been produced by the same country.

apostle of the reformation.—The reader will observe, that the historian becomes the theologian, and that Mr Robertson discovers all the acrimony of the polemic, though always covered with the mantle of a fascinating eloquence. “Though Luther,” says Mr Robertson, “was a perfect stranger to the maxims of worldly wisdom, and incapable, from the impetuosity of his temper, of observing them, he was led naturally by the method in which he made his discoveries, to carry on his operations in a manner which contributed more to their success, than if any step he took had been prescribed by the most artful policy: at the time when he set himself to oppose Tetzal, he was far from intending that reformation which he afterwards effected, and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts of what at last he gloried in accomplishing. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind all at once by any special revelation;* he acquired

* This observation of a philosophic historian, is peculiarly worthy of the attention of those who have read the life and writings of Martin Luther. That profound knowledge of mankind, and philosophy of conduct, which Mr Robertson attributes to this celebrated polemic, in his contests with the church of Rome, are invisible to all other eyes but those of the historian of Charles V. Mr Leland speaks of the mad licentiousness of Luther, as one of the causes of the resistance of the Irish church to the reception of his doctrine; and Dr Curry, to whose labours the Irish people are so much indebted, makes the following observations, in his valuable review of the civil wars of Ireland:—“The prejudices of which Mr Leland speaks, and which the Irish nation entertained against the reforming principles recommended by the servants of Henry VIII., were originally occasioned by the mad licentiousness which appeared in the conduct and writings of the

it by industry and meditation, and his progress, of consequence, was gradual. The doctrines of popery are so closely connected, that the exposing of one error conducted him naturally to the detection of another ; and all the parts of that artificial fabric were so united together, that the pulling down of one loosened the foundation of the rest, and rendered it more easy to overturn them. In confuting the extravagant tenets concerning indulgencies, he was obliged to inquire into the true cause of our justification and acceptance with God. The knowledge of that discovered to him, by degrees, the inutility of pilgrimages and penances ; the vanity of relying on the intercession of saints ; the impiety of worshipping them ; the abuses of auricular confession, and the imaginary existence of purgatory.

“ The detection of so many errors led him, of

first reformers, particularly those of Martin Luther ; for, (to say nothing of his libidinous practice and doctrine, in marrying a nun, and preaching to his married followers, ‘ *si non vult uxor, veneat ancilla,*”) the manner in which he drew up his last will and testament, on which occasion men are apt to exert their best and most serious thoughts, seem totally void of humility and common sense ; though his panegyrist, Dr Robertson, says, ‘ there is a certain elevation of sentiment in it.’ ‘ I am known,’ says Luther, ‘ in heaven, and on earth, and in hell ; and have authority enough to expect, that credit should be given to my single testimony, without the usual legal forms in such cases, since God has entrusted the gospel of his Son to me, though a damnable sinner, and truth has owned me for its teacher, in contempt of the authority of the pope, and Cæsar, and of the hatred of all the devils in hell. Why, then, it should be sufficient to say, Mr Martin Luther wrote this will, God Almighty’s notary, and the witness of his gospel.’ ”

course, to consider the character of the clergy who taught them, and their exorbitant wealth. The severe injunction of celibacy, together with the intolerable rigour of monastic vows, appeared to him the great sources of their corruption. From thence it was but one step to call in question the divine original of the papal power, which authorized such a system of errors as the unavoidable result of the whole. He disclaimed the infallibility of the pope, the decisions of schoolmen, or any other human authority, and appealed to the word of God as the only standard of theological truth. To this gradual progress Luther owed his success. His hearers were not shocked at first by any proposition too repugnant to their ancient prejudices, or too remote from established opinions. They were insensibly conducted from one doctrine to another; their faith and conviction were equal to keep pace with his discoveries. To the same cause was owing the inattention and indifference with which Leo X. viewed Luther's first proceedings. A direct or violent attack upon the authority of the church would at once have drawn upon Luther the whole weight of its vengeance; but as this was far from his thoughts, as he continued long to profess great respect for the pope, and made repeated offers of submission to his decision, there seemed to be no reason for apprehending that he would prove the author of any desperate revolt; and he was suffered to proceed, step by step, in undermining the constitution of the church, until the remedy

applied at last, came too late to produce any effect."

Such was the plan of operations against the ancient religion of Europe, by the profound and learned Luther; and so dexterous was this great reformer (according to Mr Robertson) in his mode of attacking the old prejudices of mankind, that we cannot refuse him the aid of inspiration, when we contemplate the difficulties he had to conquer, and the enemies he had to contend with. But what has been the real effect of this boasted reformation, this contempt for all human authority—this appeal to the word of God, as the only standard of theological truth? The question will be answered by the hundred sects into which Lutheranism and presbyterianism have branched; the innumerable theological opinions with which England now swarms. The empty churches, and the crowded meeting-houses of various denominations; the inspired tailors, and cobblers, and tinkers, and soldiers, whom we see travelling through the protestant world, bear testimony to the light which the reformation has shed upon the human mind. Mankind, tossed about on the tempestuous ocean of polemical discussion, sink into the grave before their minds are able to find a resting-place; before their understandings are fixed on that belief which tranquilizes the feelings, gives confidence to the heart, and puts to flight all doubt and uncertainty on the subject most important and interesting to man. The reformer, ceasing to be credulous, becomes miserably

sceptical, and perpetually oscillating between hope and fear, passes through life without a pilot, and in the last moments of his existence is still seeking that doctrine most likely to secure his salvation. Such are the effects of the reformation upon a great majority of the protestant minds of Europe at this moment.

It has been the good fortune of Irishmen to have clung with fidelity to the faith of their forefathers. It is their consolation on the bed of affliction, and has often blunted the edge of that relentless prosecution with which ambition, rapacity, and fanaticism, has visited them. A milder spirit of government has succeeded ; and the only remedy for the misfortunes flowing from the conflicts and struggles of different religious prosecutions, is now more generally acted upon in every part of Europe. Toleration, the *radical cure* for the bigotry of sects, seems now to be the principle by which the greatest monarchs regulate their government of mankind. It is the precious secret by which the most acrimonious and unforgiving passions are reconciled, and the silken thread by which mankind are conducted through the labyrinths of superstition and credulity.

The foregoing observations naturally precede the relation of those events which took place on the introduction of the reformed religion, and subsequent to its establishment in Ireland ; and an inquiry into the effects of the latter on the human mind, and the happiness of man, was considered not unnecessary nor uninteresting, in a work which

has for its object the instruction of the people in those principles that are best calculated to secure their comforts and perpetuate their honour. We shall now proceed to relate the various efforts that were made by the first reformers to root out of the Irish heart the ancient religion of the country.

Henry VIII. had made such triumphant progress in his scheme of reformation in England, that he resolved to make the experiment in Ireland. For this purpose, George Browne, provincial of the friars of St Augustine, was appointed to the see of Dublin, and instructed by his sovereign to adopt such plans, in conjunction with the clergy and nobility of the pale, as would be calculated to promote the views of the reformers.

The observations of Mr Leland on the resistance made by Ireland to any attempt at innovation upon the ancient religion, discovers but little of that regard for truth, or of that honourable anxiety to render justice to the Irish who are no more, which should more particularly animate the breast of an Irish historian, and which should be the leading feature of every Irish history that pretends to character or to credit. The reader will observe the following lines ; and, after he has read them, let him turn back the pages of this little history, and ask himself—were the priesthood of Ireland deserving of the censures which the historian of the pale has thought proper to pass on them? Were *they* the tyrants and oppressors? Or rather were they *not* the guardians and protectors of their flocks? And was not the parental feeling which warmed the bosom

of the Irish priesthood, returned with an affectionate and grateful sensibility, by a brave and honest nation? Mr Leland writes otherwise. "Ireland was not a place for these circumstances to operate, which favoured the first reformers in other parts of Europe. A people not connected by one and the same system of polity, and, for the most part, strangers to the refinements and advantages of political union,—harassed by a perpetual succession of petty wars, distracted by mutual jealousy, and the most civilized among them being in continual alarm, and daily called out to repel invasion, could have little leisure for speculation, and little disposition for those inquiries which were pursued with such avidity in countries more composed. The people had severely felt the oppression of the clergy; but what in other countries appeared to be the capital and leading grievance, was but one of those oppressions which the land experienced. When Europe had declared almost unanimously against the yoke of ecclesiastical power, a slight attempt made in one province of Ireland to circumscribe the privilege of the clergy, raised a most violent and insolent clamour among the order, though it amounted to nothing more than empowering the civil magistrate to imprison ecclesiastical debtors." Well might it be asked of Mr Leland, would he think the refusal of the Irish catholic to pay tithes to a protestant hierarchy, such an innovation as should raise an insolent and violent clamour among his protestant brethren? Certainly he would think this a monstrous innovation, and that

the clamours which the clergy would undoubtedly raise against it, would be most sacred and religious. May it not be allowed to the old Irish, to lament the innovation which the rude and savage hand of Henry VIII. struggled to make on their venerated religion ; and may it not be considered a harsh and unworthy expression to use against this people, so grateful to the religion which was their refuge in calamity, that they raised a *violent and insolent clamour* against the introduction of new and strange doctrine, which entangled the learned, plunged the ignorant into darkness, and all into uncertainty ?

No sooner had Browne and his colleagues demanded an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the English king, than Cromer, primate of Armagh, openly and boldly declared against an attempt so impious. He dispatched emissaries to Rome, to represent the danger of the church, and to entreat the interposition of the pontiff in defending the rights and the religion of Ireland, a general sentiment of resistance having pervaded the country. Henry ordered Leonard Grey to summon a parliament, which was accordingly convened in Dublin, on the first day of May 1536. The law of Poynings was for the present suspended by Henry, which made it necessary previously to certify and transmit the bills before their discussion and adoption by parliament. The latter echoed with rigid fidelity, the acts of the English parliament relative to the right of succession—the pronouncing the marriage of Catharine of Arragon with Henry, null and void, and the sentence of dispensation by the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, good and effectual—they declared the inheritance of the crown to be in Anne Boleyn and her heirs—they declared it treason to oppose this succession, and misprison to slander it. No sooner had those acts passed, than the information of Anne Boleyn's death arrived, and the king's marriage with Lady Jane Seymour. This compliant parliament soon undid all they had done, to sooth their amorous monarch. They passed an act of attainder against the late queen, and all her friends and relations. Both the former marriages were by this act declared null and void; the succession confirmed anew to the heirs of the king by Queen Jane, and in default of such heirs, Henry was empowered to dispose of the inheritance of the crown of England, and lordship of Ireland, by letters patent at will.

Henry was declared, by stat. 20, to be the supreme head of the church of Ireland. All appeals to Rome in spirituals taken away: the supporters of papal supremacy, were made liable to all the penalties of premunire. At length the national indignation at those measures of the legislature was so great, that the animosities of the septs sunk into the general sentiment of resistance to such daring innovation on the religion of the country. Lord Leonard Grey made many efforts to overawe the people, and put in force all the barbarous and excluding acts of former reigns against the Irish. The spirit of Ireland was roused against her oppressors; and O'Nial, the chieftain of the north, led his forces through the territories of Meath, reviewed his troops

at Tarah, and denounced vengeance against the invaders of their religious rights. The battle of Killahoe, on the borders of Meath, was soon after fought, in which the Irish displayed their usual courage ; but, dispirited by the fall of their illustrious leader, they retreated to the main body of the Irish army, which lay at some distance, and which, on hearing the death of O'Nial, broke up into all the old divisions that distinguished the various septs of which they were composed. In this instance, as in others which preceded it, the cause of Ireland was sacrificed to some idle feud, or some contemptible vanity ; and a nation of as brave men as ever drew the sword, were obliged to fly before a compact, united, and rapacious invader. The Lord Leonard Grey, who commanded the colonists in the battle of Killahoe, displayed the highest valour and activity ; and though the victory which he gained, by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, struck terror into the opponents of his master, yet this distinguished soldier fell a victim to the intrigues of faction, and was rewarded with an ignominious death on the scaffold, by the king whom he had so faithfully served.

The death of Lord Grey gave new courage to the friends of the old religion, and they resolved once more to draw the sword in its defence. Murrough O'Brien, successor to the sovereignty of Thomond, took the command of the Irish army ; but the accursed spirit of jealousy among the rival chieftains prevented that cordial and efficient co-operation before which the English colony should have yielded.

The Irish leaders despaired of success against the arms of England, backed by the divisions of their own people ; and O'Brien agreed to submit to Henry, and acknowledge his supremacy. To give brilliancy to the triumph which Henry gained over his Irish subjects, his ministers artfully proposed to give a king to Ireland. They said that Ireland was degraded by the humble honour of being governed by a lord, the title which the kings of England assumed in their government of Ireland. They therefore recommended the Irish parliament to confer upon Henry, and his heirs, the title of king of Ireland. An act to this effect was passed by parliament, making it high treason to impeach this title, or to oppose the royal authority. It is manifest from the extraordinary change which took place in the minds of the principal chieftains of the Irish, at this period, that the ministers of Henry VIII. felt it necessary to court the Irish mind, with which they seemed afraid to combat ; and that the bribes of titles and honours, places of trust and emolument, were engines with which they now thought it would be more prudent to assail the integrity and fidelity of Irishmen to the independence of their religion and their country. We therefore see peerages and promotions flowing abundantly upon the suspected chieftain, as well as the trusted royalist ; and the monarch shaking hands with the Irishman, whom a less artful minister than Wolsey would have advised him to have hanged. O'Nial from the north, the Earl of Desmond from the south, O'Connor from the west, the O'Rourks, and

the O'Briens, are become objects of royal favour ; and the experiment on the heart and the vanity of Ireland was found more successful in subjugating Irishmen, than the devastation of the sword, or the slower murder of the scaffold. The following list of promotions which now took place, is the best evidence of the new policy that actuated the English cabinet. Edmund Butler was created baron of Dunboyne, Bernard Fitzpatrick, baron of Upper Ossory, Sir Oliver Plunket, baron of Louth, William Bermingham, baron of Carbery, Rawson, late prior of Kilmainham, Viscount Clontarfe, Thomas Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass. Henry did not confine his policy to the mere conferring of title, or honourable distinctions. He professed to place particular confidence in the Irish chieftains he promoted ; ordered them to his court, received them with gracious and royal favour, and sent them back to Ireland intrusted with the royal confidence, and prompt to execute its wishes. Thus Henry and his ministers managed the Irish with dexterity and effect ; and the scene now acted affords an example to his successors, that even from the hands of the most infamous monarch that ever reigned in England, affected kindness and clemency was attended with results which all the power he could wield would not have effected. We find the house of O'Nial degrading itself by the offer of surrendering the ancient customs of his country ; assimilating its habits and its manners to those of England. We find the northern chieftain, unbending as he was to the threats of England, surrendering to the

hypocritical compliments of the English court, and forgetting the fountain from which he flowed. The northern chieftain O'Nial is created a peer of the realm, by the title of Earl of Tyrowen, and his son, Baron of Dungannon, and a priest, are also promoted, and obtain the honour of knighthood from the chaste and spotless hands of Henry, for two reasons, first, because he was chaplain to O'Nial; and, secondly, because he broke the oath of allegiance which he swore to his religion. These are the formidable weapons which find their way through the strongest barrier—break down the proud and haughty spirit of patriotism—and that man is considered a fool who rejects the temptation, and clings to his country. The people sometimes unthinkingly joined in the sneer of corruption; and the honest and pure patriot had no consolation to repose on, but the great and unpurchasable satisfaction of having acted with truth and with integrity. Notwithstanding the arts which the English cabinet successfully practised at this period, on the vanity and the corruption of Ireland, we do not find any alteration in the system of jurisdiction among the people. The principal Irish chieftains agreed to hold of the king by military service; but the inferior chieftains remained in their usual state of dependence on their more powerful neighbours, and the old Irish vassalage and Brehon jurisdiction were still continued. So unwise was the policy which directed the Irish administration of those days, that even the supplications of some of the Irish to be governed by English laws, were either

resisted with effect by the powerful Irish chieftains, or unattended to by an improvident government.

Little advantage was therefore derived to the connection with England by the brilliant display of allegiance among the chief lords of Ireland. Most of the counties that were imperfectly reduced to submission to English polity, went back to their old laws and their old customs. In Munster, Connaught, Leinster, and Ulster, the people returned to an ancient and venerated jurisdiction; and the acts of Parliament that were pompously promulgated by the colony, with the intention of regulating the administration of justice in those countries, were heard with contemptuous silence,* and often resisted by force of arms. Though the measures lately adopted by the ministers of king Henry VIII. did not succeed in extending the power of England in this country, yet some progress was made in the reformation of the ancient religion, and a period of peace and tranquillity was the consequence of their conciliatory and artful counsels. If examples in the history of Ireland were wanting, to establish the good sense of appealing to the honourable feelings of Irishmen, rather than having recourse to the artifices of duplicity and the efforts of violence, the scenes which took place after Henry had distributed the honours of royal confidence among the

* Of this Sir John Davis gives a remarkable instance. "The abbeys and religious houses of Tyrowen, Tyrconnell and Fermanagh," he writes, "though they were dissolved in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. were never surveyed nor reduced into charge, but were continually possessed by religious persons."

principal Irish chieftains, should be a source of instruction to the succeeding governors of Ireland, and should convince the most stubborn monopolist, that the allegiance of an honourable mind is more to be depended upon than the ferocious provisions of an intolerant penal code, or the galling ascendancy of a privileged class of favoured subjects. Francis I. in vain endeavoured to seduce from their allegiance those Irish chieftains who had been honoured with the royal patronage; and the armies of France had now to contend with Henry's intrepid Irish auxiliaries, who excited universal admiration by the agility of their movements, the fury of their courage, and their unconquerable patience of the hardships and privations of war. Mr Leland is induced to attribute to the influence of terror those effects which the impartial observer must acknowledge to be the natural consequence of a mild and protecting policy. Henry VIII. restored peace to Ireland by the cheap and easy remedy of stars, and garters, and royal honours. Former sovereigns convulsed it by an idle display of power which could not follow up its blow, and a destructive system of policy, which recoiled on its authors. From this reign the reader of Irish history should peruse its pages with more than ordinary attention. The scenes that were acted, as well as the characters which appeared, have a greater bearing on the politics of succeeding times, than those which we have been describing.

The great lights which burst upon Europe in the commencement of the sixteenth century, communi-

cated some of their rays to the Irish mind ; and although the reforming spirit met in Ireland with a resistance unexampled as it is wonderful, when we consider the varied efforts of its propagators, yet Ireland participated in that improvement which flowed to the civilized world from the struggles of the new and the old religion. The universal agitation of the mind, and the perpetual exertion which the understanding was obliged to make in the attack and defence of the most sacred interests of mankind—the art of printing—the improvements in navigation—the discovery of a new world—the bold and intrepid spirit of innovation upon all the venerated systems, religious and political, to which men had been accustomed for centuries—render the history of those times, which we are now about to relate, sources of instruction to the youthful and inexperienced, and of admiration and delight to the philosopher. The latter sees, in the successful progress of the human mind to its present great and enlightened epoch, the certainty of that infinite perfection which extends the limits of human to the verge of divine intelligence, and realizes the prophecies of those superior souls, whose speculations have been considered the dreams of the poet, or the ravings of insanity.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

EDWARD VI.

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A. D. **T**HE reign which we have just concluded, 1547. having given existence to such novel and alarming innovations upon the ancient principles and habits of the Irish, it is not matter of any great surprise that the annalists who were zealously devoted to the ancient religion of Ireland, should visit the last moments of Henry VIII. with all the penalties of an apostate, and the terrific omens of future misery. The imagination of the fanatic of all religions deems himself the most favoured of all human beings, and consigns to the vengeance of an insulted deity those unhappy persons who may conscientiously dissent from his opinions. It is extraordinary that the readers of history do not learn, from the numerous examples with which its pages are crowded, of the ludicrous follies that intolerance has been always committing, and the laugh-

able denunciations it has been ever proclaiming, how much more wise and useful, how much more Christian and kind is that principle which leaves every man to the dictates of his own conscience, and to the profession of that form of religion which either education or prejudice may incline him to pursue. Three hundred years of an intolerant warfare have been waged by the innumerable sects of Christianity, almost all guilty of the same enormities—all violating the sacred principles of that religion they affect to advance, under the pretence of vindicating the rights of Heaven, insulting the majesty of its benevolent doctrines, and perverting the spirit of mercy which breathes through its instructions. We therefore see the various contending sects alternately denouncing and damning each other, and the zeal of the sectarian estimated by the violence of his unchristian illiberality, and the fury of his persecution. Modern philosophy has discovered the remedy for this desolating folly; and the mild and parental spirit of toleration protects mankind from the absurd struggles of the polemic, and the sanguinary violence of fanaticism. When Henry VIII. had closed his eventful life, the enemies of the Reformation were industrious in circulating among the credulous the most dreadful fictions which their enraged fancy could conceive. They reported that angels of darkness hovered round his bed during the last moments of his existence, and snatched away his spirit to irredeemable suffering. The more sober contented themselves with the consolation, that Henry, since his schism

and divorce, had not a moment's tranquillity of mind; that his numerous wives were concubines; that the heresies which he detested crept in through the breaches which his passions or his folly had made; that he died unregretted; that he was not even honoured with a sepulchre nor an epitaph by his children; that the latter died without issue, and that the seed of the wicked had perished—thus defeating the hopes and the ambition of the apostate monarch. Such were the consolations of those who deprecated the principles of the reign of Henry VIII.

We have little to record during the reign of his successor interesting to the reader. Sir Anthony St Leger, whose administration of Ireland, in the latter part of Henry's reign, was considered vigorous and efficient, alienated the affections of the principal Irish chieftains by the weight of his exactions, and the excess of those taxes which he levied to recruit the resources of an exhausted exchequer. We find Ormond and his partizans resisting the viceroy; and in the course of the contest which arose between those rival powers, it is lamentable to behold the treachery to which the enemies of Ormond had recourse, in order to gain the ascendant over their formidable rival. It is recorded, that Ormond, with sixteen of his retinue, were poisoned at a feast in Ely-house, and that the instruments of this disgusting treachery were the devoted friends of the English interest.

As the protector of England, Somerset determined to follow up the principles of reformation in

Ireland with all the vigour of which he was master, it was deemed necessary to send into the latter a reinforcement of 600 horse and 4000 foot, which, on their arrival, were soon brought into action, against the Irish headed by O'Moore, chieftain of Leix, and O'Connor of Offally. The celebrated Bellingham, an old and experienced officer, led the English; and after some unsuccessful efforts, O'Connor and O'Moore surrendered to the pledged faith of the English commander, who promised the royal clemency, held out hopes that they would be received into the royal confidence, and perhaps obtain the same dignities as were formerly conferred upon their countrymen who had submitted to Henry. The Irish chieftains had no sooner arrived in England, than they were committed to prison, their lands declared forfeit, and granted to those very men who had so infamously violated their words. O'Moore died in captivity, by treachery or by force. Bellingham reduced the territories of those devoted Irishmen, and thus left on record an example which should ever have destroyed the confidence of Ireland in the honour and integrity of English faith. Two considerable districts were thus added to the English colony; and as England began her operations in Ireland in fraud and violence, she seemed to rely on the same despicable and deceitful means for the extension and security of her power. It may be observed, that such a policy has cost 600 years of national misfortune, and that for nearly this period Ireland has been the grave of English blood and treasure. Until this policy was

changed—until an honest and ingenuous feeling succeeded to the distrustful and jealous spirit ; Ireland never contributed a shilling to the English treasury. Her resources were chained down ; her heart was alienated ; her inhabitants were dreaded and suspected ; consuming English strength, instead of adding to it, and palsyng that arm, which a humane and enlightened system would have nerved. Bellingham received the reward of knight-hood for that act, for which he merited the most degrading punishment, and this monstrous violation of public feeling, contributed to prepare the public mind for that resistance to the reformers, which we shall shortly relate.

It is curious to remark, that Mr Leland represents this Bellingham, to whose treachery O'Moore and O'Connor fell victims, as an active and efficient governor of the colony, and laments that Ireland should have been so soon deprived of his protecting genius ; but Mr Leland always writes for England, and the English colony, and if the Irish be extinguished, no matter what means are employed, what sentiment is violated, what heart is broken, or what misery is produced. All such considerations are swallowed up in the grand and paramount one of English ascendancy.—An Irishman should have a different feeling.

Somerset, the protector, about this period (1550) resolved that the liturgy of the church of England, lately established by the legislature, should be introduced into Ireland. For the purpose he appointed Sir Anthony St Leger viceroy, with a

commission to convene a parliament in that kingdom. Mr Leland says, that "In England the dispositions of a great part of the people ran before their rulers in their revolt from popery." In Ireland the sentiment was different; and he writes, that "the factious opposers of administration naturally regarded every new regulation in the affairs of religion, as arbitrary, oppressive, and injurious." He quotes a chancellor's words in a letter to the Duke of Northumberland. "Hard it is," said the chancellor, "that men should know their duties to God and to the king, when they shall not hear teaching or preaching throughout the year. At a time when the mechanic * in England can hear and can convey instruction, and is habituated to religious inquiry, in Ireland we have no preaching, which is our lack, and without which the ignorant can have no knowledge." Were we to estimate the

* "It is a great wonder," says Mr Spenser, who was secretary to Lord Leonard Grey, deputy of Ireland, in the reign of Elizabeth, "to see the odds which is between the zeal of popish priests, and the ministers of the gospel. For they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by a long toil, and dangerous travelling hither, when they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward or riches to be found, only to draw the people to the church of Rome. Whereas, some of our idle ministers having a way for credit and estimation thereby offered, and having livings of the country offered to them, and without peril, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, or zeal for religion, be drawn from their warm nests, to look out into God's harvest." It was a great omission in the reformers not to have sent over to Ireland some of those famous gospel mechanics, to resist the preaching of such priests as Spenser here describes.

English mechanics of those days by the English mechanics of whom England now boasts, we could not hesitate to say, that they might be good mechanics, but certainly very bad preachers; nor can we see any great injury the religion of Irishmen has sustained by the not having the Irish mechanics preaching their various constructions of the gospel through the land, and setting up their opinions against the old and venerated doctrines of the Irish church. Mr Leland is displeased that Irishmen did not part with their religion as he would part with his coat—change it as the fashion changes, and make it black, or white, or brown, or any other colour, as the whims and caprices of human fancy might please to dictate. We can see no great comfort flowing to mankind from this perpetual change; nor do we discern that the catholic of the present day is at all deficient, or at all inferior to his protestant countryman, in those arts and sciences which distinguish the enlightened of modern times; but Mr Leland goes on, and deplores not only the invincible stubbornness of Ireland in support of its religion, but the ignorance and vicious conduct of those reformers who were commissioned to disseminate the new light among the Irish. Ignorant of the language, strangers to the habits of the Irish, they were unsuccessful opponents to those Irish clergy, whose zeal and whose purity increased with opposition. The reformers translated into the mother tongue the prayers of the reformed church—this was done by royal proclamation; but an Irish priest now rose up, named Dowdal, who boldly and

resolutely opposed the proclamation of the reformers, and the popularity thus gained by the spirited resistance of Dowdal, was not a little increased by the furious and destructive progress of plunder and desolation from the hands of the reformers. Even Mr Leland, who cannot be considered on this subject a bad authority, reprobates the conduct of those officers of the Irish government, who despoiled the churches of all the sacred ornaments they contained, and exposed them to sale without decency or reserve. The Irish annalists, on this occasion, loudly exclaim against the sacrilegious plunder, and describe with feeling and pathetic force, the painful insults offered to the sacred temples.

The power of the people, and the advocates of the old religion, were so formidable, that we find an overture to Dowdal by the viceroy, to confer with the reformed clergy, and to discuss those points of controversy which had divided the people and their governors. It is recorded, that the conference was held;—that the tenets of the catholic religion were ably defended by Dowdal, and that Staples, bishop of Meath, pleaded with ability the cause of the reformers. Upon this occasion, both parties returned with the same conviction with which they entered the place of controversy, and, as it will be seen in all succeeding contests of this nature, the combatants only dispute each other into a more firm adherence to their own opinions. The pride of the polemic always gets the ascendancy of his sincerity; and though he should be convinced, he always prefers sacrificing candour to

the degradation of being vanquished in argument. Dowdal was to be punished for his obstinacy, by depriving the archbishop of Armagh of the high and dignifying title of primate of all Ireland. This title was, for the future, to be conferred on the archbishop of Dublin; a change which wounded the pride and depressed the spirits of the Roman catholic archbishop. His courage forsook him, and, in the apprehension of greater violence from government, he retired to the continent. So determined was the nation to resist the efforts of the reformers, that we are informed John Bale, archbishop of Ossory, was assailed by the people, when preaching the reforming doctrines. Five of his domestics were slain, and he himself narrowly escaped. Mr Leland writes, that "This inveterate adherence to the manners and institutions of former ages, was now become the great obstacle to the Irish viceroy in his attempts to preserve the different inhabitants within the bounds of peace and submission." We have already the seductive arguments made use of by the reformers, in the violation of the altars, the stripping of their temples, and the constant outrages on the old attachments of the people. Is it matter of surprise, therefore, to the philosophic historian, that Irishmen should be so difficult of governing, and that the tranquillity of the colony should be of so short a duration?

The principal opposition experienced at this period (1533), by the English government of the pale, arose from the factious disorders of the great northern family of O'Nial. John, or as he is stiled,

Shane O’Nial, a youth of great vigour and intrepidity, and animated with the spirit of his ancestors, once more asserted the ancient dignity and independence of his house. He was joined by the Scotch; invaded the territories of the English colony, and laid waste one of the most fertile districts in the north of Ireland. Various efforts were made by Sir James Crofts, to induce him to obedience; and the flame thus kindled in Tyrowen was not extinguished for a long series of years. The reforming principles bound their opponents together in the strongest bonds of fidelity; and the divisions which have hitherto disgraced the Irish people, seemed to yield to the common concern for the interests of the national religion.

The death of Edward VI. defeated the hopes and expectation of the zealous reformers of the colony; and the interval of reflection thus given to the country on the efforts which had been made to alter their ancient religion, gave new vigour to their ardour for the maintenance of those doctrines and tenets which had been rendered venerable by time, and to which their fathers had adhered with fidelity under all circumstances and changes which their country had experienced.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

MARY I.

A. D. 1553. **THE** reign which we are now about to record, is a great and prominent instance of the miseries which flowed to the human race from the distractions of an unsettled religion, and the wild fanaticism of a varying credulity. Mankind were doomed to be the victims of every passion, and the humble instruments of every theological tyrant. No sooner is one despot wearied with persecuting the catholic into an acknowledgment of his favourite tenets, than a catholic tyrant starts up equally sanguinary, and equally remorseless, to force back the current of public opinion, and if his victim should not be compliant to the dictates of his sacred director, to consign him to the faggot or the scaffold. With the same enthusiastic devotion, we may see Cranmer and Gardiner leading their protestant and catholic victims to the flames. With the same zeal in the cause of God,

have each plunged their hands into the blood of the innocent. What was the cause of this wide wasting-desolation? Was it not that reformation, so much the theme of the philosophic historian and the unthinking zealot? But may it not be asked, what is our best protection against the return of the devouring monster of fanaticism? It cannot be too often repeated in this compendium of Irish history, that the sacred principle of toleration is the only extinguisher of the bigot's fire—the power which blunts the edge of his vengeance, snatches the poniard from his hand, and, leaving the mind without opposition, suffers it to evaporate in silent neglect and contemptuous indifference. Had such a principle been known in the 16th century, we should not have to enumerate the religious murders which disgust the reader, and force him almost to abjure his species. We should not have to deplore the miserable spectacle exhibited so often, of those persons whose characters are considered by their countrymen worthy of their highest esteem, so far degraded by the spirit of fanaticism, as to become the insatiable destroyers of every man who chose to think for himself, or who refused to sacrifice his conviction to his fears. We should not have seen the amiable and learned Sir Thomas More, consign a fellow-creature to the scaffold for the crime of differing in a point of theology which no human tribunal is capable of deciding upon. Even in this compendium, it would be injustice to the reader to omit the admirable and enlightened observations of Mr Hume on the effects of toleration. They

are to be found in his reign of Mary ; but as many will peruse this book whose time and occupation may not permit them to refer to the history of England, I shall transcribe the passage, and recommend it to the serious reflection of every man who has at heart the peace and happiness of his fellow-creatures.

“ The practice of persecution,” writes Mr Hume, “ is the scandal of all religion ; and the theological animosity, so fierce and so violent, far from being an argument of men’s conviction in their opposite tenets, is a certain proof that they never reached any serious persuasion with regard to those remote and sublime subjects. Even those who are the most impatient, in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of polemical divines ; and when a man’s knowledge and experience give him a perfect assurance of his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the opposition and mistakes of others. But while men zealously maintain what they neither clearly comprehend, nor entirely believe, they are shaken in their imagined faith by the opposite persuasion, or even doubts of other men, and vent on their antagonists that impatience which is the result of so disagreeable a state of the understanding. They then embrace easily any pretence for representing opponents as impious and profane ; and if they can also find a colour for connecting this violence with the interests of civil government, they can no longer be constrained from giving uncontrouled scope to vengeance and resentment. But surely never en-

terprise was more unfortunate than founding persecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the sake of peace, to settle an entire uniformity of opinion, in questions which, of all others, are least subjected to the extent of human reason. The universal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion on religious subjects, can only be owing, at first, to the stupid ignorance and barbarism of the people, who never indulge themselves in any speculation or inquiry; and there is no other expedient for maintaining that uniformity so fondly sought, but by banishing for ever all curiosity and all improvement in science and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a steady severity, the first beginnings of controversy; but besides that this policy exposes, for ever, the people to all the abject terrors of superstition, and the magistrate to the endless encroachments of ecclesiastics, it also renders men so delicate, that they never can endure to hear of opposition, and they will some time pay dearly for that false tranquillity in which they have been so long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too mild a regimen, and are hereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life, a people who never were allowed to imagine that their principles would be contested, fly out into the most outrageous violence, when any sect (and such sects are common,) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives rise to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be said in favour of suppressing, by persecution, the first beginnings of heresy, no

solid argument can be alleged for extending severity towards multitudes, or endeavouring, by capital punishments, to extirpate an opinion which has diffused itself through men of every rank and station. Besides the extreme barbarity of such an attempt, it proves commonly ineffectual to the purpose intended, and seems only to make men more obstinate in their persuasion, and to increase the number of their proselytes. The melancholy with which the fear of death, torture, and persecution inspires the sectaries, is the proper disposition for fostering religious zeal. The prospect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal punishment. The glory of martyrdom animates all the more furious zealots, especially the leaders and preachers. Where a violent animosity is excited by oppressions, men pass naturally from hating the persons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines : and the spectators, moved with pity towards the supposed martyrs, are naturally seduced to embrace those principles which can inspire men with a constancy almost supernatural. *Open the door to toleration*—the mutual hatred relaxes among the sectaries ; their attachment to their particular religion decays ; the common occupations and pleasures succeed to the acrimony of disputation, and the same man, who in other circumstances would have braved flames and tortures, is engaged to change his religion from the smallest prospect of power and advancement, or even from the frivolous hopes of becoming more fashionable in his principles. If

any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will be only where a theology altogether new, nowise connected with the ancient religion of the state, is imported from foreign countries, and may easily at one blow, be eradicated, without leaving the seeds of future innovations. But as this instance would involve some apology for the ancient pagan persecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China or Japan, it ought, surely, on account of the detested consequence, to be rather buried in eternal silence and oblivion."

Such are the profound and masterly observations of Mr Hume, on the folly of endeavouring to extinguish the liberty of thought on subjects of which no human tribunal can take cognizance; and the history of the world demonstrates the wisdom of that principle, which Mr Hume recommends as the only cure for the disease of fanaticism, and the only preventative of those evils which flow from the zeal of the bigot of every religious persuasion. The pride of the adherents of the ancient religion, and the innovating frenzy of the professors of the new, were too excessive to allow the mild and healing voice of toleration to be heard amidst their tumultuary conflicts. Mankind took the alarm, when they saw the daring spirit of reformation breaking down those bounds which restrained and directed human passions. The licentiousness of the reformer increased as he went on in his work of innovation, and every effort made to reunite the parties in controversy but added fresh fuel to the flames, and fresh ardour to their enthusiasm.

The reign of Mary was not so productive of calamity to Ireland as to England. The principles of the reformer had not succeeded in making any great progress, and the few who struggled to inculcate the new doctrines were not so steady in their principles, as to refuse yielding to the threats or the remonstrances of the ministers of Mary. In Ireland, therefore, Mary and Philip had few victims to sacrifice to their depraved fanaticism, but we shall find this sanguinary queen following up the political principles of her predecessors in this devoted country, and treachery and murder of the basest kind, are to be the distinguishing marks of that reign which covered England with scaffolds, and shed the blood of thousands to gratify the passions of a remorseless theologian, or, in the cant of the day, to promote the glory and religion of the Almighty.

On the accession of Mary, there was no material alteration of Irish ministers. The celebrated George Dowdal was restored to the dignity and office of primate of all Ireland, and invested with the priory of Atherdee. "A licence," Mr Leland says, "was granted for the celebration of mass, without penalty or compulsion; and among the royal titles, that of supreme head of the church of Ireland still continued to be inserted in the acts of state."

The family of Kildare were restored to all their ancient honours. The young Lord Gerald, a favourite of the queen, was vested with all estates possessed by his ancestors. Charles Kavanagh, also,

the head of the great Leinster family of Mac Murchad, was created a peer of the realm, by the title of Baron Balyan. O'Connor of Offaly was restored to his own county by the mediation of his own daughter with the queen. We find Sir Anthony St Leger, who was the instrument of Edward in the prosecution of his reforming principles, accommodating himself to the doctrines of the queen, and re-appointed in the office of her representative. The return of Dowdal was the unerring signal of Mary's determination to restore the ancient faith. The partizans of the reformation fled from the impending storm; having none of those earthly inducements to martyrdom which presented themselves to their English colleagues. They could neither expect the wonder nor the pity of any number of the Irish people, however patient in suffering, or however inflexible in their principles; and the hope of obtaining the crown of salvation was too distant a prize to animate such men as Bale of Ossory, and Casey of Limerick. "They fled in dismay," says Mr Leland. The general amnesty published by Mary on her accession, made an exception, which sufficiently marks the character of the times, how little sense of justice was entertained by those whose bigotry was to be gratified. Those priests of the colony whom the laws of Henry and Edward allowed to marry, were punished for their violation of the Catholic religion, by the loss of their sees and their livings.

But a transaction now occurred, (1554,) which consigns the memory of Mary's Irish administration

to perpetual infamy. It is not the madness of fanaticism ; it is not the ignorant and ludicrous anxiety for the future welfare of its victim ; it is not a holy zeal for the preservation of a religion which the persecutor of humanity may consider the best. No—the execrable transaction which we have now to record, is the offspring of avarice and tyranny, of an insatiable lust of power, and a desire to possess the property of an innocent and unoffending people.—The inhabitants of Offaly and Leix are doomed to a treacherous and cowardly slaughter. The instruments of the assassin are preferred to the honourable warfare of soldiers, and Englishmen are degraded into the cold-blooded executioners of a generous and hospitable nation. The inhabitants of Leix (or the Queen's county) were almost perpetually at war with the colony of the pale. The latter beheld with greedy eyes the fertile fields of Leix and Offaly, and thirsted for the opportunity of plundering its wealth and its comforts. Its brave inhabitants could not be conquered in the field ; it remained, therefore, to the English colony, to adopt any expedient, however infamous, to get possession of so valuable an acquisition. The laws of God or of man were no restraint on their passions ; the principles of honour, of generosity and hospitality, gave way to the insatiable spirit of rapacity, and the unsuspecting Irish were to be slaughtered in those hours when confidence was at its height,—when the heart overflowed with sensibility,—when the cup of peace and friendship was circulating round the festive board,—when the eye glistened with philan-

thropy, and the cheek glowed with benevolence,—this was the sacred hour selected by the English colony, to extirpate the chieftains and the nobles of Leix and Offaly. The chief men of the two septs, in number four hundred, were invited by the Earl of Sussex, successor to St Leger, as to an amicable conference, to the rathmore of Mullahmast. Thither they came,—all the most eminent in law, war, physic, and divinity, and all the leading men of talents and authority in either sept. “They rode,” says an historian who lived a few years subsequent to this event, “into the fatal rath, (confiding in the olive branch of peace, held out to allure,) in the character of ambassadors,—sacred among all nations, even barbarians and heathens. The cup of friendship was pledged by the ambassadors of the colony; refreshments given with the accustomed hospitality; when the Irish found themselves suddenly surrounded by a triple line of horse and foot, who, on a given signal, fell on the unarmed, defenceless gentlemen, and murdered them all on the spot.

On reading the sad and dismal scenes of Roman and Grecian treachery, the heart is desired by our instructors to pause, and reflect on the enormity of the crime; and the youthful talent is employed in the defence and the impeachment of those characters who were the prominent actors on the barbarous theatre of antiquity. Here is a theme of deep and melancholy reflection to the Irish mind, from which a volume of instruction may be drawn. Here is a transaction which calls forth the tear of sensi-

bility, and in the contemplation of which the honest and indignant heart sinks into a sad and melancholy reverie. Yet the Irish should not forget that the sacred blood thus barbarously shed, was the work of a papist English queen; and they should be taught to remember that the monopoly of the colony, whether in the robes of catholicity or protestantism, was equally savage, equally relentless, and equally insatiable. Leland passes over those disastrous scenes;—Dr Curry places them in the reign of Elizabeth;—but as this massacre seems to have preceded the change of the names of Leix, for the Queen's county, and Offaly for the King's county, (a change which could not have taken place without the destruction of its principal inhabitants by massacre, as at Mullahmast, or by a series of battles, of which we have no account), we have placed this horrid transaction in the reign of Mary. Mr Taaffe, who has accurately examined the old annalists, asserts that this murder took place in the reign of Mary; that the principal fort in Leix was called Maryborough, from the same queen; that the fort in Offaly was called Philips-town, from her husband Philip; and that the English colony passed an act, about the year 1556, confiscating the two counties, and vesting the murderers of the Irish with the property of their victims. Thus were the noble and illustrious families of the O'Moores, the O'Connors, the Dempsies, swept away by the daggers of the assassins; and Mullahmast remains a monument of English treachery which the Irish can never forget, until Eng-

land, by the mildness and protection of her laws, convinces the people that their interest and happiness is her's—their privileges and their liberties, the strength and bulwark of the British empire. The commemorations of ascendancy have often provoked the unbought Irishman to turn his eye back on the sad record which relates the transactions at Mullahmast; and the reflection that such scenes are countenanced by their rulers, tears open the wound which time, and the native forgiveness of the Irish heart, would long since have healed.

In the year 1556, Mary concluded her treaty of marriage with Philip, and received cardinal Pole into England, in the character of legate, for the purpose of reconciling her kingdom to the holy see. The cardinal is represented by all parties, as a mild, moderate, and benevolent minister of religion, who would, if possible, have softened the rancour of the bigot, and endeavoured to procure the ascendancy of his religious tenets rather by persuasion than by violence—by the powers of reason, rather than the terrors of the scaffold. Mr Hume says, in his character of cardinal Pole, “ In a nation where the most furious persecution was carried on, and the most violent religious factions prevailed over justice, even by most of the reformers, has justice been done to his merit.” The benign character of this prelate, his modesty and humanity, made him universally beloved. The lords and commons assembled on the 1st of June, 1556; and the bull from the legate, cardinal Pole, was read in full parliament, congratulating the nation on its return to

the ancient faith of their ancestry. This bull was read aloud by the chancellor on his knees, and received by the whole assembly of lords and commons, in token, says Leland, of reverence and contrition.

The law of this parliament most worthy of notice, is that for the explanation of the law of Poynings.—Thirteen years had elapsed, in which no parliament had been held in Ireland, and the powers of that assembly required an accurate definition with regard to the law of Poynings, by which they were to be hereafter regulated. This parliament, therefore, formally defined the intent and meaning of Poynings' law. It was enacted, that no parliament should be summoned or holden in Ireland, until the chief governor and council should certify to the throne, the causes and considerations, and such acts and ordinances as they judged meet to be enacted; that when these were approved and returned under the great seal of England, a parliament should be summoned for the purpose of passing such acts, and no other. Thus the usage of holding parliaments and enacting laws in Ireland, was finally established, by which all contest and debate on the construction of the act of Henry VIII. or of Poynings, was for the future put an end to. It is consoling to be able to remark, that in this reign we cannot set down the horrible examples of infuriated bigotry that disgrace the page of English history during the same period; that we cannot record the same unrelenting and un pitying religious fury in Ireland which governed

the councils of Mary in England. An Irishman, partial even to his native air, imputes to its influence, as well as to the generous sentiment that distinguished his countrymen for centuries, the mild spirit of toleration which directed the administration of the colony, during the sanguinary reign of Mary ; and triumphantly seizes the opportunity of boasting their superior qualifications in head and heart, compared with those of Englishmen, who were to be seen sacrificing each other to the gloomy demon of fanaticism ; but the progress of the reformation in Ireland was comparatively slow, and the converts from popery were too few to provoke the severity of persecution ; nor can we believe, with Mr Leland, that we are to attribute this great blessing of religious freedom, which every writer of those times, however prejudiced, allows to have existed in Ireland, to the “ stupid composure of ignorance and superstition.” We rather attribute the existence of such a blessing to the fortunate circumstance, that the rage of fanaticism had made no very successful encroachments on the ancient faith of the country, and that the few who opposed were too insignificant to excite the fears or the jealousy of the ascendant religion. It remained for future days to experience the effects of breaking down the venerated principles of antiquity, and disturbing the conscience and belief of those who lived with their neighbours in harmony and peace. “ What a pity,” writes an honest and animated historian, “ that the Irish are not roused from their stupid composure, by running after crazy mounte-

banks,—vending their quackeries of new invented doctrines, with as great an assortment of sample patterns, as there are delirious fancies in the heated brains of bible-mad fanatics ! So, the calm enjoyed by the Protestants in Ireland, when they were few, and the Catholics all-powerful, (the effect of an enlightened philosophy, or great native generosity,) is, according to Leland, the effect of a stupid composure in ignorance and superstition.” No ; we should rather conclude, with the writer of these observations, that the native kindness of the Irish heart did not feel any gratification in the bloody triumphs of bigotry, and that the indulgence granted to the propagators of reformation in Ireland, flowed from the influence of that generosity, which has so long and so remarkably characterised the Irish nation. Ware informs us, that several English families fled into Ireland, and there enjoyed their opinions and worship in privacy, without notice or molestation.

During the remainder of this reign, there is little worthy of record—little calculated to instruct the understanding or improve the heart. The battles fought between the houses of Tyrowen and Tyrconnel, display all that fruitless bravery which always distinguished the contending Irish septs ; and the reader of the sanguinary scene must lament the waste of so much precious blood in the odious struggles of civil war. We have passed through so many occurrences of this kind, that we deem it an unprofitable labour to re-echo either the courage or the follies of our countrymen.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

ELIZABETH.

A. D. 1558. **T**HE history of Ireland may be considered the only history in which the mind and heart of the reader are unable to find a resting-place from the miseries and sorrows of his fellow-creatures, in which even a short interval of peace cannot be discovered, or a momentary cessation from human calamity cannot be enjoyed—in which a perpetual succession of afflictions, unrelieved by one gleam of comfort, or by one ray of hope, passes before the eye—wearying and exhausting its sensibility by the reiteration of sorrow. Despair takes possession of the Irish patriot; and all future efforts to rescue his country from the miserable distractions to which Providence seems to have doomed it, strike him to be the dreams of the visionary, rather than the result of reflection, or the sober dictate of cool and dispassionate reason. The

Irishman who is not insensible to the long course of misery experienced by his country, who has sympathized with her sufferings, and has followed her varied fortunes—who has reflected upon the hundred struggles made by the mutual exertions of the prudent, and the violent precipitancy of the enthusiastic, is inclined to close the record of such repeated disappointment, with the humane and benevolent exclamation of regret, that the sword had not, in the infancy of Ireland's connection with England, extirpated the seed of that spirit which has struggled with despotism in vain for a period of seven hundred years, and which only contributed to excite by resistance that persecution which has so long desolated the richest and most beautiful island on the globe. The Irishman, who, from time to time, flattered his country with hope, has done little more than prepare her for the scaffold, and the struggles which promised the fairest prospects, and the most triumphant issue, have hitherto terminated in general disaster—unprofitable to the conqueror, and ruinous to the conquered. That a people, possessing the great and enviable qualities of Irishmen—brave, generous and humane ;—that a nation illustrious for its hospitality and kindness, should for centuries be the victims of the most unequalled misfortunes, excite the pity and indignation of every reader. For four hundred years previous to Elizabeth, we have witnessed one unbroken chain of calamity ;—we have seen the wealth and resources of our country sacrificed to the rapacity of monopoly, and a small and contemptible band of

settlers gnawing the vitals of a nation who could have extinguished them by the union of its people. During this dreary period, the catholic English colony are to be found plundering the people of Ireland professing the same religion, and worshipping the same God with their persecutors. We see the spirit of robbery generating the same torments against their victims as we shall shortly see adopted by the furious spirit of bigotry; and when the Irish native was nearly stripped of his property, and had almost ceased to be worthy the notice of persecution, we shall find him uncovered, and unsheltered—exposed to the fury of the fanatical reformer, and the sacred liberty of serving the Supreme Being as his conscience dictated, rudely torn from him by the ministers of that British Queen, who gave an asylum to the victims of popish fanaticism, and rescued from the dagger of the assassin the Hugonots of France. It seems that the principle which gave protection to the persecuted of a foreign country dictated the persecution of Irishmen, and that the examples of the sanguinary and ferocious Charles, and the stupid and bigotted Philip, were worthy of imitation, against the devoted people of Ireland. “If the scene,” says Mr Taaffe, “has been hitherto turbulent and sanguinary, it is speedily to be darkened by a louring tempest, pregnant with ruin to the inhabitants. The ancient glory and happiness of the island of sanctity, learning, hospitality and heroism, are to be trampled under foot. In addition to their former misfortunes, a fresh scourge is prepared for Ireland. If popish

England assails their persons and fortunes, protestant England assaults even the sanctuary of conscience. The loss of life and its comforts, God knows, were grievous enough; but the attempt of wresting from them, by tyrannic violence, their belief and hopes of an immortal inheritance, was still reserved to fill the cup of misery brim full, and drive a religious people to utter despair." That the ministers of England could see no safer mode of governing Ireland than by persecution, was not the cause of the cruel war which they waged against the feelings of the Irish nation; the torture in Ireland had the effect of propagating, by its terror, the principles of reformation in England; the pretext of conformity gave an opportunity to the artful Cecil to provide the factious and turbulent and disaffected of his own country, with the forfeited property of conscientious Ireland, not so indifferent to the creed of their ancestors as Englishmen. The Irish offered up their lives and their fortunes on the altar of their religion, and preferred the miseries of poverty to the crime of apostacy. Not so England: no matter from what quarter the wind of their religious doctrine blew; whether from the brutal Henry VIII. the fanatic ministers of Edward VI. or the wretched bigotry of Mary,—they were equally ready to embrace the creed of each, and equally ready to plunder the altar of the Catholic, and burn the bible of the Protestant. The Irish were not so fortunate in the mutability of their belief, and it has pleased Providence, that for adhering to the religion of their fathers, they should be visited with

temporal suffering, inflicted with all the remorseless fury of paganism. Future times will startle when they read the miseries which one sect of christians inflicted on another; and they will repeat those names with indignation, who converted fidelity into crime, and sincere religion into superstitious fanaticism.

We shall find, in the reign which we are about to record, the calamitous effects of that wretched policy which would force a religion upon the people of any nation. Notwithstanding the blood that has been shed, and the tears which have flowed, what have been the fruits of persecution to the reformed religion of Ireland? Where are its numbers, compared with the persecuted Catholic? Is not Catholic Ireland more powerful at this moment than ever she was? and have not the struggles to weaken her but increased her strength, and raised her character and importance in Europe? We may learn from the past, that no religion can be propagated by the violence of the sword, or the statute-book; that persecution covers the human mind with an impenetrable armour; that it multiplies its victims, or impoverishes and destroys itself; and that there is no axiom better established by the page of history, than that to which Pagan persecution gave birth,—“*Sanguis martyrum est semen religionis.*” The Catholic religion has arisen in Ireland from the ashes of its professors, and now displays to the reason of mankind a sober and settled rule, by which humanity can regulate its future hopes, or its present consistency. The folly of that zeal which would

compel, by privations and political disabilities and indignities, the profession of a particular speculative opinion,* is universally acknowledged; and the civilized world now seem to be anxious for the general establishment of that tolerant principle which is best calculated to procure and perpetuate the peace and harmony of mankind.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the west and north of Ireland were desolated by the aspiring ambition of the two houses of Desmond and O'Nial. The latter claimed the sovereignty of all Ulster, and re-assumed the ancient grandeur of his house. O'Nial perceived that a great exertion should be made to save himself from a fate similar to that of the two powerful clans of Offaly and Leix; and he therefore, with becoming spirit, determined to put forth

* The following observations, coming from Lord Clare, the excessive liberality of whose opinions cannot be complained of by the partizans of bigotry, fully demonstrate that the most prejudiced mind cannot refuse assent to the instruction which history gives to mankind. In the year 1800, he thus spoke in the Irish House of Lords. "It seems difficult," said his lordship, "to conceive any more unjust or impolitic act of government, than an attempt to force new modes of religious faith and worship, by severe penalties, upon a rude, superstitious, and unlettered people. Persecution, or attempts to force conscience, will never produce conviction; they are calculated only to make hypocrites and martyrs; and, accordingly, the violence committed by the regency of Edward, and continued by Elizabeth, to force the reformed religion on Ireland, had no other effect than to foment a general disaffection to the English government; a disaffection so general, as to induce Philip II. of Spain, to attempt partial descents on the southern coasts of this island, preparatory to his meditated attack upon England."

all his strength, consolidate his kingdom, unite the distracted chieftains who were subordinate to him in one common bond of union, and boldly assert his independence against the violence and fraud of his English enemies. He reduced the O'Reillys of Cavan, and Calvach O'Donnell of Donegall. The colony were alarmed at the rapidity of O'Nial's progress; and their deputy, the Earl of Sussex, led all his forces against the Irish chieftain. Before a blow was struck, an accommodation was agreed to. O'Nial pleaded the justice of his resistance, and a treaty was concluded, in which he was acknowledged dynast of Tyrowen. The treaty being finally arranged, he attended the Lord-Deputy to Dublin, swore allegiance, and promised to repair to the queen, and renew his dutiful submission at the foot of the throne. It is said that he appeared before Elizabeth with all the pomp and magnificence peculiar to his country. He was attended, on the day of audience, by a guard of gallow-glasses, arrayed in the richest habiliments of their country, armed with the battle-axe, their heads bare, their hair flowing on their shoulders, their linen vests dyed with saffron, with long and open sleeves, and surcharged with their short military harness; a spectacle astonishing to the people, who imagined that they beheld the inhabitants of some distant quarter of the globe. Elizabeth received the Irish chieftain with the greatest courtesy, and patiently listened to his defence. The candour and magnanimity of O'Nial's deportment so gained upon the queen, that she dismissed him with assurances

of her favour and protection. O'Nial did not disappoint the hopes of the queen when he returned to his native country. His fidelity to her interests was zealous and sincere. He led his forces against the Hebridean Scots, defeated and drove them from the castles they had occupied on the northern coast. Notwithstanding these strong demonstrations of attachment to the cause of Elizabeth, the deputy still entertained unworthy suspicions of the sincerity of O'Nial, and communicated those suspicions to his royal mistress. The answer of Elizabeth, on this occasion, displays at once her determination and her sagacity. "Be not dismayed," said she; "tell my friends, if he arise, it will turn to their advantage; there will be estates for them who want;—from me he must expect no further favour."

Sir Henry Sydney was now appointed to the vice-regency of Ireland; which, at this period, required all the intelligence and activity which that enterprising Englishman was known to possess. Sir William St Leger was ordered to co-operate with Sir Henry Sydney; and special instructions were given to the privy council of the colony, to devise such measures, in concurrence with the deputy, as were calculated to enforce the queen's authority*, and propagate the reformed religion.

* It has been often observed by the liberal readers of Irish history, that Ireland is distinguished from all other countries, not so much by the magnitude of her misfortunes, and the excess of her sufferings, as she is by the malignant calumnies of the hired traducer, and the abandoned testimony of her prostitute children.

To intimidate the male-contents of Ulster, Arnold, an English officer, was stationed with a strong force in Derry; and O'Nial, determined to expel

At the moment some of our Irish historians are recording the greatest provocations which human feelings could be goaded by, we find some merciless epithet, some insolent denunciation of the barbarous character of the country which they describe as bleeding from every pore. In the same page which registers the despotic violence with which Elizabeth insulted the conscience of the nation, by prescribing a form of religion that warred with the feelings of Irishmen, and which might be considered the fantastic composition of Elizabeth herself, we see some impudent sneer against that honourable fidelity to the venerated religion of their fathers, which distinguished our countrymen. The pen of the historian is employed in covering with obloquy those sacred names who resisted with their lives, the arrogant dictates of that power, that presumed to pare down the religion of Ireland to the measure of its passions, its ambition, and its avarice. The historians who have hitherto devoted their talents to the investigation of Irish calamity, can see no causes for Ireland's sufferings in the dreadful efforts of that tyranny which endeavoured, if the expression be allowed, to tear out her heart—which trampled on the most sacred right of human nature—the liberty of communicating with God in the form and manner the conscience of the people dictated. The protestant who reads the persecution of his fellow-protestant, whether under Charles of France, who presided over the horrible scenes of St Bartholomew's day, or of Philip of Spain, lays down the book in an agony of distress, and all the manly and honourable feelings of his nature are roused to an instantaneous deprecation of the fanaticism which could so brutalise our nature. Such a feeling, no doubt, is as salutary to our country, as it is full of dignity and honour; and the historian who most successfully calls forth the vengeance of his reader against such monsters as Charles and Philip, do the greatest service to the cause of true religion and humanity. But how comes it to pass, that amidst the dreadful and fanatical persecutions of our countrymen, amidst the slaughter of the most sacred feelings

from his territories the only obstacle which now presented itself to the completion of his ambitious views. He could no longer hold terms with a go-

of our nature, which covered our country, not a sigh is heard—not a single sentiment of indignation at the hand which inflicted the suffering? No voice of pity whispers consolation to the honourable men who have braved and survived the storm. This would not be prudent for the writer's purposes. This perhaps would wound the sensibility of the ruling powers. It would be opening the wound which their kindness would close for ever; and therefore it is much better, say the grave and judicious, to go on slandering and defaming the memory of those who have fallen in the cause of religious and political freedom; much better to go on denominating those honourable Irishmen who resisted the reformation, barbarous, ignorant, and incapable of improvement. We think differently; and shall, in obedience to truth, set down what we conceive to be the cause of Irish misfortune, and the fruitful source of those disastrous divisions, which have rendered one party odious, another feared, and all weak and impotent. The reformation has been to Ireland, what the invasion of the Spaniard was to South America. It propagated civilization by the sword, and cultivated religion by extirpating the original inhabitants; it commenced in despotism, and has ended in the acknowledged impotency of its efforts. Another and a better policy has succeeded to the fanaticism of the reformer; and Ireland, left to the direction of her own conscience, on questions of religion, promises as much strength to her rulers as she has been hitherto a source of weakness and torment. The measures adopted by the Irish parliament to promote the success of the reformation in Ireland, were well calculated for the object they had in view. The parliament of the pale, at the accession of Elizabeth, was not composed of those malleable materials, that would, without a struggle, surrender the religion of their fathers; we find, however, that such were the threats of despotism, that in a session of a few weeks, the whole ecclesiastical system of the colony was changed. The act of supremacy, the act empowering the viceroy to nominate to sees, for the space of ten years, the act for erecting schools

vernment which would not place the most complete confidence in his professions of loyalty ; and he resolved rather to struggle for his independ-

of reformation, the act enacting, that all persons in office shall take the oath of supremacy, the act making it high treason to defend the ancient religion, either by word or by writing—the punishment death ; the act making the Book of Common Prayer, composed by Elizabeth, the only book of prayer to be read by the clergy of the pale, who, on refusal, were subject to the penalty of confinement for life. These were some of the acts enacted by Elizabeth, for the propagation of her religion ; but it is to be remarked, that she always reserved to herself the power of prescribing other forms and ceremonies, as it might please her majesty. These were the acts which Irishmen resisted with their blood, because they were taught to believe it was more religious, as well as more honourable, to die in defence of religious freedom, than embrace doctrines which they could not believe. For this fidelity, which should have raised Ireland in the estimation of a great statesman, the ministerial hypocrite and the plunderer laid waste her property, and deluged her fields with blood ; and the experience of two centuries was necessary to develop the infatuated weakness of such a policy. Is it to be wondered that the Irish peasant should, after the lapse of such a period of horror, connect the name of protestant with persecutor ? And that the mild and merciful protestants of the present day should sometimes hear the murmurings of those men, whose ancestors have fallen victims in the defence of principles, which none prize more highly than the enlightened and benevolent reformers of the present day. The reflecting mind will admit, that years of kindness can only obliterate the impression which two centuries of persecution has made on the Irish heart ; and that the greatest enemy that Ireland has, will have the candour to acknowledge, that no nation more promptly forgives an injury, nor more gratefully remembers a benefit. It is therefore the duty of the Protestant to respect the man his ancestors would have persecuted ; and it is the duty of the Catholic, wherever that feeling is acted upon, to forget and to forgive the vices and the follies of the ages that are past.

ence, than pass a precarious existence under a power which discredited his character.

The Lord of Desmond had now surrendered to the arms of the queen; his lands were restored to him, to be held by English tenure, and he himself created a lord of parliament by the title of the Earl of Clancarthy. The exclamation of O'Nial on this occasion, does not indicate that savage and debased ferocity, for which he has been distinguished by the pen of Mr Leland. A spirit of determined independence and honest patriotism mark the observations we are about to read. "A precious earl!" said O'Nial to some English commissioners, sent to treat with him. "I keep a lacquey at my table as noble as he; but let him enjoy his honour, it is not worthy of O'Nial! I have indeed made peace with the queen at her desire; but I have not forgotten the royal dignity of my ancestors. Ulster was theirs, and shall be mine; with the sword they won it—with the sword I will maintain it." From this moment we find O'Nial the furious and relentless enemy of England, carrying fire and sword through the entire of the north; burning down the reformed churches; pursuing the propagators of reformation, and calling up the dormant spirit of Irishmen in every corner of the island. O'Nial could only be opposed with effect by a division among the Irish themselves; and this was the policy which the prudent Sydney preferred to the precarious result of the sword. He conciliated the principal chieftains of the north, Calvagh of Tyrconnel, Macguire, the lord of Fermanagh,

and some other chieftains of the north-west ; who from motives of jealousy and envy, basely preferred the humiliation of their brave enemy, O'Nial, to the greater object of weakening the common enemy of their country.

O'Nial, unsupported by foreign or domestic aid, was obliged to yield before superior force. A temporary gleam of hope shone upon his fortunes ; he was invited to join the Scots, now encamped in Clanterboy ; but here O'Nial had to contend with the base and contemptible practices of treachery and cowardice. O'Nial was invited by the Scots in all the confidence of the most generous friendship ; he accepted the invitation, and at the moment the unthinking Irish chieftain was enjoying the feast of hospitality, the soldiers of his infamous host rushed in and butchered the brave Irishman and all his followers. To this act of indelible infamy the Scotch were excited by the artifices of Sydney ; and by such practices have we already seen the power of the colony triumph over the honourable credulity of a brave and generous people.

Mr Leland relates this transaction with his accustomed coldness ; not a single sigh of resentment escapes his lips, and innocence falls unpitied and unrevenged, even by the historian, under the poisoned cup of the coward, or the dagger of the assassin. For this great and magnanimous achievement the murderers received a reward of one thousand drachms from the deputy, who immediately marched into the territories of the intrepid O'Nial.

The contests between Ormond and Desmond

continued to exhaust their respective territories. Their conflicts were sanguinary and destructive to each party, and their petty war ended in the defeat of Desmond, who was made a prisoner. The Ormondians carrying their wounded prisoner in triumph from the field of battle, were assailed by a rebuke from Desmond, which may be considered a singular instance of resolution as well as wit. "Where," said the victors, "Is now the great lord of Desmond!"—"Where," replied the heroic Desmond, "But in his proper place?—*Still upon the necks of the Butlers!*"

A temporary submission on the part of Desmond to the English government took place, but the old feuds broke out again between Ormond and him. The deputy, in conjunction with the former, reduced Desmond, took him prisoner, and sent him to England.—Here Elizabeth's ministers considered it prudent to confine him. Sir Henry Sydney accompanied his prisoner, in order to defend the acts of his government before his royal mistress, and in his absence we find the colony assailed and convulsed by the rival chieftains, Butler, the Geraldines, the O'Moores, and the O'Connors. Sydney, on his return, convened a parliament, to consult them on the most efficacious means of restoring peace to the country. The enemies of the reformation in Ireland were so numerous and so important a body, that it required all the artifices and influence of the Queen's Irish government to assemble such a parliament as would forward the objects for which they were convened. Every effort that corruption

could make was exerted to procure such a house of commons as would be obedient to the nod of the viceroy. Sir Christopher Barnewell charged the House of Commons with being illegally constituted; that numbers were returned for towns not incorporated;—that several sheriffs and magistrates had returned *themselves*;—that numbers of Englishmen had been returned as burgesses for towns which they had never seen nor known, far from being residents as the law directs. Great and warm debates ensued, and the speaker attended the deputy and council to explain the objections urged against the constitution of the House of Commons. The judges were consulted, who declared, that those members returned for towns not incorporated, and magistrates who had returned themselves, were *incapable* of sitting in parliament; but, as to the members not resident within towns for which they were returned, that they were entitled to their seats. This decision of the judges insured the triumph of government; and here do we see a constitutional stand made in the house of parliament, against the measures of a party, opprobriously designated the English faction. Sir Christopher Barnewall headed this popular party. It is curious to observe the popular party in this parliament advocating the continuance of Poynings' law, and reprobating the struggles of the court to suspend its operation. The objection to its suspension is a singular one, and worthy of record. That it was an attempt by the court against the foundation of public security; that its effect would be to deliver up the kingdom

to the mercy of a viceroy and his English ministers, who might then conspire to enact such laws as their ambition or avarice might dictate. So writes Hooker, who was cotemporaneous with those events; and perhaps the argument, considering the constitution of the commons, was a fair and unanswerable one; for surely there is no tyranny so rapacious nor so cruel as the tyranny of an aristocracy, which multiplies the sufferings of the subject in proportion to its numbers, and visits on every village and hamlet a more malignant despotism than the most unlimited monarch would dare to exercise. An act of attainder was passed by this parliament against the late John O'Nial; it declares all Ulster exempt from the authority of O'Nial, and vests his lands for ever in the crown. By another act of this parliament, worthy of notice, the chancellor was empowered to appoint commissioners for viewing all territories not reduced to English counties, and the deputy authorized them, on their certificate, to divide them into shires. The act of presentation for ten years, and for the erection of free schools, was now passed, and the most remorseless efforts made to propagate the reformed creed. Such were the occupations of the ten first years of Elizabeth's government; and surely no impartial mind who reads the inflexible tyranny with which she and her officers inflicted the penalties of the reforming acts, will be surprised at the scene of distraction and misery through which we are doomed to wade during the succeeding reigns.

The reader of Mr Leland can with difficulty

suppress his indignation, when he finds the historian lamenting the perverse continuance of the Irish in their ancient barbarous habits, as he is pleased to call them, and recording in the very same page, the miserable revolutions which this unhappy people were doomed to suffer. Mr Leland laments that the same vigour which violated the feeling, was not sufficient to extirpate the man; and that the lenient impolicy of one governor frequently revived the spirit of resistance which his predecessor endeavoured to extinguish. Though the strong and decisive measures adopted by Elizabeth to tear up the old religion of Ireland, and substitute her own, were apparently well calculated to promote her object, yet causes still existed to counteract her efforts; and the policy in preserving the conquests she had made over the Irish mind, was not so prudent or so provident as the principle was vigorous, which enabled her to obtain them. "Those causes arose," says Sir John Davis, "from an insatiable avarice to grasp at more territory than she was able to regulate. Elizabeth passed from county to county, without placing those securities, or making those regulations which were only calculated to preserve the system she had introduced. She divided the province of Connaught, in 1570, into six counties—Clare, Galway, Sligo, Leitrim, Mayo, and Roscommon; but she sent no justices of assize into those counties to administer justice according to the laws of England. She left them to the merciful direction of a governor, armed with civil and military powers; and the people were

permitted to relapse into the same customs, for the extirpation of which so much blood had been shed." Mr Leland has assigned a better reason for the small progress of that civility and good order which an impartial administration of justice must produce in every country. "Those," says Mr Leland, "whom the revival of the English power in Ireland had tempted into the kingdom, came with the most unfavourable prejudices against the old natives, whom they were interested to represent (both of the native and the old English race) as dangerous and disaffected. The natives were provoked at the partiality shown to those insolent adventurers. They were treated like aliens and enemies, as the annalist of Elizabeth observes, and excluded with contemptuous insolence from every office of trust and power. It is therefore natural to find them not always zealously affected to the administration of the Irish government."

Such has been the true cause of Irish disaffection;—the upstart adventurer shouldering the ancient and revered settler,—the offspring of public misfortune rising on the ashes of the ancient proprietor, and perhaps an attorney, or revenue officer, whose names are lost in the obscurity of their origin, encouraged by the English patron to struggle for precedence with the Irish nobleman, who enjoys the confidence and affection of the people. Such creatures are generated in the corrupt principle of division; and even to this hour, though centuries of misfortune and weakness have flowed from it, the meanest and most ignorant followers of English

faction are encouraged to beard the dignity and independence of our country, and audaciously presume to monopolize the confidence of government, the distribution of honour, and the possession of emolument. Such a system could not long exist without producing its natural effects. Sir Henry Sydney, whom we see packing a parliament to carry his projects of reformation, insults Sir Edmund Butler, who, careless of consequences, yields to his resentment, and involves the south in war and desolation. Sir James Fitzmaurice, brother of the Earl of Desmond, with the Earl of Clancarthy, take up arms against the desperate encroachment on their religion and their properties. The Irish analysts of those days describe the ravages of Fitzmaurice's arms in the most excessive colours. He intrigued with Turlough O'Nial, the northern chieftain; he dispatched messengers to Rome and to Spain, soliciting aid against the tyrannical reformers who governed his country. The present distracted state of the colony greatly alarmed Elizabeth. She relied not solely on the power of her arms; she solicited the mediation of the Earl of Ormond with his brother, Sir Edmund Butler, who was prevailed on by the Earl to abandon the cause of Fitzmaurice. Thus, partly by intrigue, partly by force, was the rebellion of Sir Edmund Butler and Fitzmaurice put an end to. Turlough O'Nial seceded from the confederacy, and the north and south were once more restored to tranquillity. Sir John Perrot was appointed governor of Munster. His administration was at once just and vigorous. Hooker says

that his government gave an unusual appearance of peace, industry and civility to the entire province. It is reasonable to suppose that Sir John Perrot deserves the character which English historians record of him, from the single fact, that he held his court of justice in different quarters, heard and redressed grievances, and though he enforced the law with firmness, yet he administered it with mercy.

The justice of an individual had but little effect, balanced against the paramount principle of English policy, "divide and conquer." Ireland was doomed to be the subject on which every state empiric might practise with impunity—the bank on which every creature of despotism might hope to draw, and the hospital in which every *incurable* Englishman might flatter himself with shelter. The bastard of a secretary, or the mistress of a minister, might look with confidence to Ireland, as the source of their fortune, of their fame, and their dominion. The native Irish were to be plundered, to enrich the profligate and corrupt adventurer, and thousands of our countrymen were doomed to surrender their property and their religion, for the gratification of lust, of avarice, and ambition. The secretary of Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Smith, had a natural son, who was to be provided for: a portion of the north of Ireland and its inhabitants were to be sacrificed to this pure and immaculate Englishman. He was commissioned to take possession of a place called Ardes, in the eastern parts of Ulster; and lands were assigned to his followers, at

the rate of one penny per acre. The Irish, *most unnaturally*, became indignant that their families were to be plundered, their wives and children driven from their homes, and exposed to nakedness and want. The young English bastard was assassinated by those exasperated people; and the fate of thousands of the native Irish was for a time suspended by the desperate catastrophe. The fate of this adventurer was not sufficient to intimidate. Walter Devereux, lately created Earl of Essex, proposes to plant an English colony in Ulster; or in other words, to plunder and desolate the Irish. Elizabeth supplied him with forces, and with money: every horseman is promised a grant of four hundred acres, and every footman two hundred acres, at two pence per acre. Essex is appointed governor of the colony for seven years; and a number of the principal English noblemen join with the earl, mortgage their properties in England, and sail for Ireland, in the hope of gratifying the utmost aspirations of their ambition. They were but the dreams of avarice,—defeat and disappointment pursued their efforts. The Irish were roused, and united against those audacious plunderers. Bryan Macphelan, Hugh O’Nial, Turlough O’Nial, the Lord of Tyrowen, forgot their animosities, and marched against the common enemy. Essex, and his noble associates, fellow plunderers and colonists, retreated with afflicted and broken hearts; and though Essex remained some time in Ireland, after the failure of his attempt on Ulster, he at length fell a victim to his ambition, and sunk into

the grave, unpitied by his countrymen, and hated by the Irish.

At this period (1576) Ireland, almost in every point, north, east, west and south, exhibited one scene of confusion and conflict. The struggles of the reformers with the intrepid fidelity of the people—the zeal of fanaticism, and the insatiable avarice of extended dominion, animated the ministers of Elizabeth. The O'Moores in Leinster, the sons of Clanrickard in Connaught, the friends of Desmond in Munster, and the O'Nials of the north, exhausted the treasury of Elizabeth, and consumed her soldiers in perpetual engagements. The confederacy was a formidable one; and, unless dissolved by intrigue or broken by force, might terminate in the expulsion of Elizabeth from her Irish dominions. The power of the purse, and the seduction of royal blandishment was considered a more potent weapon against the Irish, than the sword or the cannon—and the principal allies of Desmond and O'Nial were soon seduced from that confederacy which threatened the destruction of the connection with England. Sir Henry Sydney was again recalled to the government of Ireland, and for some time after he took into his hands the reins of power, the kingdom enjoyed an interval of peace and tranquillity. A transaction occurred about this period in the south of Ireland, which peculiarly marks the character of her governors, at once discovering the fear and the cruelty of cowards. Under the pretence of introducing English law, the rights of human nature are violated,

the sacred principles of hospitality abused and insulted, and the innocent and unoffending Irishman plundered of his property, his peace, and his happiness. Sir William Drury was appointed governor of Munster by the viceroy, and so great was his anxiety to extend English jurisprudence throughout the south of Ireland, that he determined to treat with contempt the rights of Desmond, who was by patent the chief of that country, and who, on this occasion, pleaded his ancient and acknowledged privilege, as lord of the lands of Kerry. Desmond appealed from Drury to the viceroy, and before his appeal was heard, assurances of warm regard were given by the Irish chief to the English governor. Though Desmond claimed his acknowledged privileges of exemption from the interference of an English authority, yet he professed the sincerest respect for the man whose authority he disputed ; and, in the kindness of the most genuine hospitality, hoped that there would be no interruption to that social intercourse which the Irish ever wished to cultivate with the stranger. With those feelings, the Earl of Desmond invited the president to partake of the good cheer his table afforded.—Sir William Drury accepted the invitation, and on the appointed day went to the entertainment of the earl. Desmond, in obedience to the customs of his country, received Drury with all the honours of his house. Seven hundred of Desmond's followers appeared as if meditating some hostile movement ; having been summoned to contribute to the amusement of the president, by an

exhibition of the noble sport of hunting, to which the people of England were greatly addicted. Sir William Drury stopped not to reflect, but ordered the soldiers who accompanied him, to anticipate their attack. The Desmondians returned in amazement at the extraordinary movement, and the countess of Desmond laboured to explain the appearance of that body of Desmond's people which created such unnecessary alarms. Though the president might have been easily the victim of his own rashness, we find Desmond and his countess interpose and protect the man who thus had entertained such unworthy suspicions.

The English policy of governing Ireland is now about to develop its fruits to the most sceptical of those who do not consider the most impartial administration of justice as the best or the most secure system, by which the affairs of this country could be regulated. The poverty and embarrassment which followed the struggles of the reformers, with the stubborn fidelity of Ireland, are a good lesson of instruction to those who measure dominion by plunder, and consider the connection between the countries most secure when the energies of the nation are most exhausted—who consult their safety in the extirpation of public spirit, and measure their loyalty to their king by their persecution of the people. The Irish governors of Elizabeth were zealous and indefatigable in their efforts to break down the Irish heart, and extirpate the Irish religion. What was the result? A beggared exchequer and a trembling government: an exhausted

and wearied spirit of persecution on one side, and an eternal spirit of vengeance on the other : perpetual complaints from Elizabeth, that Ireland was a burthen to her empire, the torment of her mind, and the insatiable vortex which swallowed up the fruits of her most rigid economy. Though profuse of the blood and the treasure of her people in her struggles with Ireland, still no progress was making by her generals ; not a convert was added to her religion, nor a guinea to her treasury. Such complaints naturally roused the loyal zeal of Sir Henry Sydney. He determined to make the experiment of the queen's prerogative, and to dispense with the usual forms of obtaining supplies through the representations of the people. He converted the annual contribution or assessment granted by the various districts over which the English authority extended, into a regular and permanent revenue : he dissolved those patents which gave exclusive privileges to certain great lords, and by a mandate of his council, imposed the new tax on the people. This tax, when first imposed, amounted to ten pounds on every plowland. The tax was reduced to five pounds ; but the principle of raising the tax by the mere authority of the viceroy and council, warred with the constitutional feelings of the English settlers, and an appeal to Elizabeth was immediately determined upon. The inhabitants of the pale assembled—deliberated : they intrusted their cause to three agents, of distinguished celebrity, eminent for their knowledge in the laws. The Lords Baltinglass, Dillon,

Howth, Trimblestown, Bellew, Nangle, Plunket, Nugent, signed the remonstrance, for and on behalf of all the subjects of the pale. Sydney was not inactive in poisoning the mind of the queen and her ministers against the petition of her Irish subjects. He misrepresented their motives and characters; and as usual, the cause of Ireland came on to be heard before an English tribunal inflamed with prejudice, and exasperated by expostulation. Even Elizabeth, who we cannot suppose much sympathized with the sufferings of Irishmen, could not suppress her classic illustrations of Irish misfortune. She for a moment relaxed the reins of her power, and cast her eyes on the wounds of her people. “ Ah! (she exclaimed) how I fear, lest it be objected to us, as it was to Tiberius by Bato, concerning the Dalmatian commotions—‘ *You—you it is that are in fault, who have committed your flocks, not to shepherds, but to wolves.*’ ” Notwithstanding this charitable ejaculation, she preferred her darling prerogative to the comfort of her Irish subjects; and reprimanded her Irish minister, for not having immediately punished the audacious opposers of her will, however sanctioned by right, or justified by the laws of their country. Such severity of denunciation had but little effect on the lords and gentlemen of the pale; and the spirit manifested by the Irish and English at this period is a singular instance of the benefits often flowing to Ireland from the operation of foreign causes. It will be admitted, that had Elizabeth put forth her entire strength against those of her Irish

subjects who resisted her prerogative, she would have been able to crush the spirit of opposition, however determined or however united. It is to be recollected, that the inhabitants of the pale were but a small part of Ireland, and that its menaces against the despotism of Elizabeth were, as compared with the voice of Ireland, the murmurs of a faction and the cries of infancy ; but when the pale had the power of throwing into the scale the arms of France or of Spain, their resentment was formidable, and the folly of persevering in measures of irritation obvious to the most superficial. Elizabeth, therefore, yielded to the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, and relaxed in that rigid policy which distinguished her character and conduct against Englishmen.

The reformation rendered Ireland a perpetual bank of discontent on which foreign powers, anxious to curb the ambition of Elizabeth, could perpetually draw ; and the open and avowed exercise of an undoubted prerogative alienated even the hearts of her subjects of the pale, rendering the entire island a mass of destructive inflammability. The ministers of Elizabeth wisely provided against the storm, and preferred yielding to circumstances they could not controul, rather than persevere in an idle contest which might terminate in the dismemberment of the empire. On this occasion Mr Leland's words are remarkable. " The conclusion of this dispute, which so little corresponded with that imperious violence first expressed by the queen, is only to be explained by her apprehensions of fo-

reign enemies, and the intelligence now received from the continent." May it not here be observed, that what was wisdom in Cecil, Elizabeth's minister, cannot be folly in those men, who deem it courage and consistency to persevere in goading to distraction, not the people of the pale, not a faction, but the whole people of Ireland—courted and seduced by an intriguing and powerful enemy, who is vigilant to take advantage of the errors of England, as he is tremendous in the execution of his threats, and faithful in the performance of his promises. Elizabeth yielded to the pale, because Philip of Spain, and Charles of France, threatened to take advantage of the misgovernment of Ireland. The British sovereign of the present day is advised by his ministers to persevere in a system of exclusion and indignity, though the common enemy of England, with tenfold his ancient strength, menaces our shores with those legions who have humbled all the powers of Europe, and raised on their ruins a despotism as colossal as it is unparalleled in the annals of the world. This was not the policy of Elizabeth; she regulated her temper by the circumstances of her empire, and advanced to, and retreated from the exercise of her favourite prerogative, according to the peculiar events which presented themselves to the contemplation of her advisers. Elizabeth had to contend with the ancient religious attachments of Europe. The anathemas of the pope preceded the arms of Philip, and any adventurer, desperate enough to engage in any enterprise calculated to harass the dominions of the

English queen, was supported with all the ardency of religious and political zeal. To embark in such a contest was, in other words, fighting the battles of the Almighty, and the zeal of the sectarian, as well as the ambition of the politician, were prompt in embracing every plan which might weaken and distract the councils of Elizabeth. With those views, Thomas Stukely, whose vanity and falsehood were detected in the reign of Edward VI. was encouraged by Rome to raise a formidable armament for the invasion of Ireland; and James Fitzmaurice, who was driven from his country by Sir John Perrot, succeeded in obtaining from Philip of Spain, and Pope Gregory XIII., such a force and such a sanction, as was only sufficient to plunge Ireland into all the horrors of civil war. Elizabeth lost no time in taking those measures which were best calculated to meet the difficulties with which she was surrounded. With regard to Stukely and his Italian army, he was diverted from his original intention of invading Ireland by the more pressing consideration of accompanying Don Sebastian, the king of Portugal, into Africa, under whose banners he had the honour to terminate a life which might have otherwise visited its native country with all the calamities of war. The force with which Fitzmaurice had the boldness or the folly to invade his native country, was composed of about fourscore Spaniards, and some English and Irish fugitives. With this contemptible band, he landed at a bay called Smerwick, in Kerry. On their arrival, their little army was increased by the followers of Sir

John and James, brothers to the Earl of Desmond.—The earl himself dissembled his real intentions, and made professions of great zeal for the cause of Elizabeth against the invaders. His dissimulation was carried so far, as to alarm their fears and even excite their suspicions; and Fitzmaurice was so irritated by the duplicity of the earl's conduct, that he upbraided Sir John in terms of the most poignant and insulting nature. Sir John retired in vexation, not to revenge the insult offered to his pride, but to endeavour, by an act of base and sanguinary treachery to an innocent and unoffending Englishman, to demonstrate to his foreign friends, and to Fitzmaurice, the sincerity of his zeal for their cause, and his monstrous hostility to the cause of the English.

The relation of acts so infamously treacherous, and so wantonly cruel, though the duty of the historian has often the effect of diminishing our horror of its authors, and too frequently accustom the human mind to read, without proper sentiments of honest emotion, those transactions which so degrade and blacken our species. Every man contemplates the assassin with vindictive indignation—every heart burns for satisfaction, and every eye sheds tears of pity over the grave of that helpless and undefended fellow-creature, who falls under the stroke of a mean and cowardly murderer. We join with Mr Leland in the strongest expressions of his resentment against the base and abandoned treachery which sacrificed the good and amiable Englishman whose story we are now about to relate, and only

lament that the sufferings of the honest Irish peasant, faithful to the creed of his fathers, and to the independence of his country, can never find a sympathetic sigh of commiseration, or condolence for the miseries with which a cruel and relentless policy has visited him. The humble inhabitants of the cabin are covered under its ruins without a single recollection of their sad and dismal fate; and the fields of the native Irish are devastated by the foreign sword of reformation, without exciting in the breast of Mr Leland a particle of that generous pity which he so profusely lavishes on the tomb of the murdered Englishman. This is not liberal, and should not be the spirit of the historian. But to proceed: Henry Davels, a gentleman of Devonshire, had for some time served in Ireland; and by the humanity and correctness of his conduct, endeared himself to all those of the Irish with whom he came in contact. Mr Leland says, and he takes the fact from Hooker, that this gentleman had frequently administered to the wants of Sir John Desmond, who now planned his destruction. Mr Davels was commissioned by the deputy, Sir William Drury, to reconnoitre the strength and position of the invaders, and to communicate to the government of the pale all the information he could collect. He was also commissioned to repair to the Earl of Desmond, whose disaffection was as yet unknown to the deputy, to inform him that he would expect his co-operation against the common enemy. Davels, reposing the most unlimited confidence in the old friendship which sub-

sisted between him and Sir John, entreated him to join him with his own followers, and drive the enemy from their present position. Sir John was deaf to his solicitation, and Davels prepared to return to the deputy with whatever information he was able to collect. On his return, he was obliged to pass through the town of Tralee, to which place Sir John Desmond pursued him. The house in which Davels lay was surrounded at the awful and silent hour of midnight; the porter was bribed, and the assassins immediately obtained admittance. They entered Davel's chamber, with Sir John Desmond at their head. "What, my son," cried Davels, when he cast his eye on Sir John, "What means this brawl?" The cowardly assassin replied to his old defenceless friend with his sword, which he plunged into his breast, while his barbarous followers flew from chamber to chamber, making indiscriminate slaughter of the attendants of Davels. —Mr Leland writes, that this atrocious deed is panegyricized by O'Sullivan; and Hooker says, that Saunders, the clergyman, called it a *sweet sacrifice*. Bigotry, it is true, sometimes steels the heart against every sentiment of our nature; but seldom has it succeeded in so far brutalizing it as to convert the black and detested crime of ingratitude into a virtue worthy of studied eulogium. It is not the nature of an Irishman; and the bigot historian, who triumphs in the sanguinary victory of Sir John Desmond over the helpless and unoffending Davels, little knew the tribunal before which he was about to present the fruits of his historical

labours. Had Davels, in his dispatches, given as much information as could have inevitably insured the defeat of the invaders, as well as the ambitious views of Sir John Desmond—nay more, was the independence of Ireland to be determined by the committal of such an act, Irishmen would rather wear their chains for ever, than be released by the instrumentality of such a hand as Sir John Desmond's. Like the Earl of Desmond, his brother, they would denounce the murderer to posterity, and hold him up as a perpetual object of their country's detestation.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by the invaders to rouse the native Irish, they as yet received but little support, and experienced but little of that great co-operation with which they were flattered by their Irish leaders. Fitzmaurice soon after fell in a rencounter with one of the sons of Sir William de Burgho, whom he endeavoured to seduce from his allegiance. The deputy, Sir William, had now assembled such a force as the pale could at this period (1581) afford, namely, four hundred foot, and two hundred horse, and was joined by those English officers who were acquainted with the country through which they were to march. Even the Earl of Desmond came to the deputy's camp with a well appointed force ; but he could not conceal his dissimulation from the discerning judgment of Sir William Drury, who ordered him to be arrested, and, for security of his allegiance, insisted that his son should be given up to him as an hostage. When we consider the very small and insignificant

number of the invading army, we cannot agree with Mr Leland in despising the struggles which were made by the Irish on this occasion, aided by so inconsiderable a force. When Fitzmaurice fell, Sir John Desmond assumed the command; and we find by the authority of English writers, Hooker, Leland, &c. that nine weeks were consumed in an unprofitable struggle to subdue this little invading army, aided by their Irish allies. We also find that Sir John Desmond succeeded in cutting off two hundred of the English troops, by reason of his superior knowledge of the country. We find the deputy petitioning the Queen for a reinforcement of six hundred men; and, at length, conquered by fatigue and want of health, retiring from his command, and falling a victim to the hardships he sustained.—All these circumstances demonstrate what a nation can be made to effect, when impelled by a deep and goading resentment against the intolerant violators of conscience; and how miserably weak is that policy which struggles to mould to its will, and its ^{policy} fantastic despotism, those feelings which no human power should presume to control, and which seem to be defended by Heaven against the insolence of human pride. This infatuated struggle between the tyrant and the freeman has been the source of infinite calamity to the human race. We find Elizabeth cruelly and idly attacking the civil and religious liberties of Ireland; and the same historian, who extols to the skies the revolution of 1688, endeavours to blacken the character of those brave Irish, who fought and died in

one of the most righteous causes that ever engaged human courage. Englishmen drove James from the throne, because they were apprehensive that he meditated the overthrow of their liberties. Irishmen drew their swords against Elizabeth, because they experienced the ruthless dominion of her intolerance, and smarted under the chains of her petty tyrants. James II. was suspected of a design to establish the catholic religion on the ruins of the protestant : but Elizabeth openly and implacably tore up the roots of the catholic religion in Ireland, and menaced a war of extermination against its natives. Was not such a system of government well calculated to multiply the Irish armies ? and have we not seen it the fruitful fountain of weakness and mortification to the persecutor, and of misery to the persecuted ?

The English army consisted of 900 men. Three hundred infantry, and fifty horse, were quartered at a place called Kilmallock ; and Malby, having received information that Sir John Desmond lay a few miles distant from Limerick, marched with 600 men to attack him. The allied army of Spanish and Irish amounted, according to Hooker, to 2000, directed by Spanish officers. The onset of the Irish army was so furious, and the battle so obstinately maintained by them, that victory was for a long time doubtful to which side she would incline. At length the superior discipline of the English army prevailed, and the Irish were pursued with considerable loss. The Earl of Desmond wrote a congratulatory letter to Malby, which that officer was

pleased to consider as a cover to some real designs against the English by Desmond. Indeed the suspicions so perpetually entertained against this earl by the English, would naturally drive him to those acts of disloyalty, which it appears his enemies were panting for. The Earl of Desmond's estates were viewed with the voracious eye of confiscation; and circumspect indeed must his conduct have been, if some act of his life could not be construed by the ingenuity of rapacity into proofs of disaffection and rebellion. Malby asserted that he found on the person of Allen, the priest, who was discovered among the dead on the field of battle, certain papers, which satisfactorily implicated the Earl of Desmond; and upon the evidence of those papers, he conceived himself justified in occupying Rathkeale, a town belonging to that earl. Desmond, provoked by this monstrous act of injustice, attacked the camp of the English in the night. Malby was proceeding to reduce the various castles of the earl, when the intelligence of the deputy's death caused a suspension of hostilities. Sir William Pelham was appointed chief governor, on the decease of Sir William Drury. He proceeded to the south, and there endeavoured, as we are assured by English writers, to prevail on the Earl of Desmond, through the mediation of the Earl O'Nial, to abandon his foreign allies, and give them up to the English government. He was called upon to attend the governor and the council, and to submit to the judgment of her majesty; and also to surrender the castle of Carrick-on-Foyle. The devoted earl an-

swered those peremptory demands by complaints of injuries that he had suffered ; upon the redress of which, he promised to establish the peace and tranquillity of the country. The deputy, Sir William Pelham, immediately proclaimed the Irish lord a traitor to the laws of the land. May it not here be asked,—had the Earl of Desmond any grievances to redress, or did he wantonly take up arms against a parental sovereign, whose government was administered in the spirit of mercy and toleration ? Even Mr Leland will not deny the existence of that despotism which now goaded Irishmen to madness ; which made them prefer the hazards of rebellion to the persecutions of bigotry ; which made war and all its calamities preferable to the lingering torments of religious persecution, or the disgraceful alternative of abandoning the religion and principles of their fathers. What was the great crime with which Desmond was charged by the government of the pale ? The demand of redress for the unparalleled sufferings of his country. What were the inducements to his enemies to refuse him redress, to reject his remonstrances, and to proclaim him a traitor ? The Desmond estates were the most princely and extensive in Ireland ; would not these reward the adventuring converts to the new belief ? and was not Desmond the very person on whose widely extended property the greedy eye of confiscation would cast its devouring glance ? Slight may the pretext be, which will satisfy the conviction of the political plunderer ; and strong indeed ought that evidence to be, which would convince

posterity that the Earl of Desmond ought to be handed down as the unprincipled rebel to his sovereign, rather than the bold and honourable defender of the political and religious liberties of his countrymen. The contest was as unequal as the devastation was merciless; the territories of the unfortunate earl were immediately exposed to all the horrors of a licentious soldiery, and the most fruitful fields of Ireland were covered with the ruins of their ancient possessors. Elizabeth seemed to have closed her eyes on the sufferings of the Irish, and nothing short of the extermination of the devoted natives would appease the murderous passions of their persecutors. The castles of the earl, which had surrendered to the honour of their besiegers, were razed to the ground, and their credulous inhabitants devoted to the sword or the gallows. "It would be equally shocking and tedious," writes Dr Curry, "to recite all those well attested acts of cruelty and perfidy, which were perpetrated on those unhappy people, by the order and connivance of her majesty's ministers of Ireland." So writes this humane and laborious inquirer after truth. He then gives that miserable instance which it is our duty to detail, and which alone would be sufficient to palliate the thousand acts of sanguinary vengeance, that the reader of the following pages is doomed to peruse.

Soon after the Earl of Desmond was proclaimed a traitor by the deputy, his territories were desolated by a rapacious soldiery, and every act of barbarous and insatiable outrage practised upon the in-

nocent and unoffending inhabitants. Nature, at length roused by the excess of suffering, made a desperate effort: the Irish attacked the town of Youghall, which they plundered without mercy, and cut off a large detachment which the deputy had commissioned to defend it. This partial success animated the courage and determination of Desmond, and we find him making those artful appeals to the religious and patriotic feelings of his countrymen, that were best calculated to rouse them to a great and universal effort. The sufferings of the Earl of Desmond and his family, in their various struggles for their great possessions, excite the sympathy of every mind that contemplates the ancient power of this persecuted nobleman; * when we find them taking shelter in the woods of the estates of which Desmond was the lawful and honoured master, we cannot refrain from deprecating that infamous principle, which, under the pretext of civilization, desolated the fairest portion of Ireland, and drove to ruin the oldest and most respected of the Irish chieftains. The various castles of Earl Desmond were reduced; and the murder of the Irish in the castle of Carrick-on-Foyle, under the command of the Italian called Julio, after they had surrendered to the British arms, may be taken by the reader as an epitome of the savage

* Desmond (according to Baker's chronicles) possessed whole counties, besides the county palatine of Kerry; and had of his own name and race, at least five hundred gentlemen at his command; all of whom, and his own life also, he lost within the space of three years; very few of the house being left alive.

warfare waged by England against the country. Soon after, the ignorance of a new deputy contributed to raise the almost exhausted spirits of the followers of Desmond. Lord Grey, whose administration was an uninterrupted course of the most insatiable barbarity and plunder, was appointed Lord-deputy; and so ardent was his zeal to distinguish himself as the destroyer of the Irish people, that it plunged him into difficulties discreditable and injurious to his military character. Ignorant of the country, he presumed to lead his troops against the Irish, into the valley of Glendalough, in the county of Wicklow; which, fortified by nature, and defended by enthusiasm, could bid defiance to the most experienced and skilful of the British generals: Lord Grey was surrounded with enemies which he could not reach, and assailed on all sides by attacks which he could not return; he lost his principal officers, and returned to the seat of government, covered with confusion and dishonour. So decided a victory raised the spirits of the Irish, and the arrival of an army of Italians and Spaniards in the south, inspired the followers of Desmond with increased confidence and energy; they landed at a place called Smerwick; they brought arms and ammunition for five thousand men, and a large sum of money which was to be delivered to the Earl of Desmond. The Earl of Ormond was ordered to march against the invaders, and Sir William Winter proceeded to invest the enemy by sea, while Ormond was collecting his forces by land; thus surrounded, the fort of Smerwick was sum-

moned to surrender; the refusal of the Spaniards and their Irish auxiliaries was bold and peremptory: they went on with vigour, and the Spaniards finding it impossible to hold out much longer, agreed to capitulate on certain conditions, honourable to the besieged; Lord Grey, in the confidence of victory disdained to grant any terms to an enemy whom he insultingly denominated traitors; from them no money could be expected; from them no money was received: the garrison was forced to surrender, and after being disarmed, were cruelly butchered, under the direction and immediate authority of Sir Walter Raleigh *. Elizabeth, it is said, expressed the utmost concern and displeasure at the atrocious and barbarous scene: the continent of Europe heard the account of the massacre with horror, and every heart and every hand volunteered in offering their services to avenge such an outrage on humanity. In Ireland the effects of such sanguinary proceedings were to multiply new enemies, and create new insurrections; the spirit of vengeance ran through the country, proclaiming the wantonness of English cruelty, and appealing to all the honourable sympathies of the heart for

* Dr. Curry says, that a Roman catholic writer, who lived near that time, thus relates the affair we have detailed above. " Nine hundred Spaniards, except about eleven officers, were stript of their weapons, and all slain or cast over the cliffs into the sea, (for the fort of Smerwick stood upon a mighty high rock over the sea), notwithstanding the lord deputy's word and faith unto them all for their lives, liberties and goods, and safe conduct into Spain."—*Theatre of Cath. Relig.*

satisfaction, and the punishment of such barbarous delinquency. The seat of government was threatened with a conspiracy, and the principal Irish families which surrounded the metropolis, were suspected of being concerned in the plot against the English Government. Such are the invariable consequences of persecution; it multiplies the evil supposed to be exterminated, and the blood of the victim seems to produce new enemies to the oppressor, and new proselytes to the principle he vainly imagines he is extinguishing. Lord Grey, in the brutality of his fury, was determined to make a great and signal example; he seized several of the most distinguished persons, some of whom he executed. Among these was Nugent, baron of the exchequer, a man, (Mr Leland writes), of a singular good life and reputation; he was sacrificed to the blind and indiscriminate barbarity of the deputy, whom we soon find so detested in his government of Ireland, that even he can no longer bear the eternal indignation with which he is surrounded; he is weary of his station, and petitions for his recal.

In the history of this unfortunate country, the reader will find numerous instances of the most unaccountable passion for the destruction of its unoffending and innocent inhabitants. They will wonder that the miserable unproductiveness of a system, so often experienced, should not have induced the ministers of Elizabeth to try the mild and merciful plan of equal and impartial protection; but we shall find the voracious spirit of confiscation swallowing up all other considerations, and the cold

blooded murderers of the Irish rewarded with the possession of estates and of titles. In Carte's life of Ormond, we read (says Dr Curry) that for the slaughter of the Irish at Limerick, and at other places, Sir Walter Raleigh had forty thousand acres of land bestowed on him, in the county of Cork, which he afterwards sold to Richard, first Earl of Cork. We may form some idea of the misery experienced by our country, during the persecution of the Earl of Desmond, from the following passage, quoted by Dr Curry from Spencer. He was secretary to Lord Grey during his administration of Ireland; and we should conclude, from the pathetic and feeling language of his narrative, was the indignant observer of the wretched scene which he describes. "Notwithstanding that the province of Munster was a most plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, yet ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any heart would rue the same; out of every corner of the woods and glens, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves: they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them; yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue there withal; that in a short space there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left

void of man and beast." Such is the description of the desolation and misery depicted on one of the fairest portions of Ireland by the secretary of that chief governor, who was the author of such unparalleled calamity. Mr Leland says, that Lord Grey tyrannized with such merciless barbarity, that it was represented to the queen, "that little was left in Ireland for her majesty to reign over, *but ashes and carcasses.*" At length Lord Grey was recalled, and a pardon offered to those Irish who would accept it.

The war had now nearly terminated ; the forces and the spirits of the Earl of Desmond were nearly exhausted : pursued on all sides by the indefatigable vigour of Ormond, he entreated to be received into mercy. His applications were rejected ; he fled for refuge to the woods and bogs, and depended on the fidelity of his followers for the support of nature. He was at length discovered in a miserable hut, his head cut off, and carried to the Earl of Ormond : it was immediately conveyed to the queen, and impaled on London bridge.

Dr. Curry writes, that after Desmond's death, and the entire suppression of his rebellion, unheard-of cruelties were committed on the provincials of Munster, by the English commanders. Great companies of those provincials, men, women and children, were often forced into castles and other houses, which were then set on fire ; and if any of them attempted to escape from the flames, they were shot or stabbed by the soldiers who guarded them. It was a diversion to these monsters of men

to take up infants on the points of their spears, and whirl them about in their agony, apologizing for their cruelty by saying, “that if they suffered them to live to grow up, *they would become popish rebels.*” Many of the women were found hanging on trees, with their children at their breasts, strangled with the mother’s hair. Will any man who reads those atrocities, so much wonder at the horrible vengeance which the Irish took upon their oppressors, when the fortune of war in some years after left the English at the mercy of Ireland? Mr Leland says, that Desmond and about one hundred and forty of his accomplices were attainted, and their estates declared forfeited to the Queen. Those estates were offered to the younger sons of Englishmen at three pence, in some places two pence per acre, and for three years more, half only of the stipulated rent was to be paid. In another place Mr Leland writes, that “none of the *native Irish* were to be admitted among these tenantry.” Thus the *extermination* of the Irish was the grand principle of Elizabeth’s government in Ireland; and to this infatuated and wicked principle may the reader attribute all the scenes of suffering, and cruelty, and calamity, which the English adventurers in Ireland experienced, and which should be a lesson to future governments never to put in practice that system, which may be visited on themselves with such dreadful vengeance. What Irishman can read the following fact, without yielding to those honest feelings of indignation, by which the hearts of our ancestors must have been inflamed to madness?

“ Upon the attainder of the Earl of Desmond and his confederates,” says Dr Curry, “ not less than 574,623 acres of land, English measure, fell to the crown, and were disposed of by Queen Elizabeth to English undertakers.”

The death of the Earl of Desmond, and the defeat of his confederates, gave an interval of tranquillity to the south of Ireland. That country which, under a protecting government, could have contributed to enrich the royal treasury, and supply its inhabitants with every comfort, presented one unvaried scene of wretchedness and desolation : the solitude of the desert and the tranquillity of the grave;—“ *Cum solitudinem faciant, pacem appellant.*” It might be supposed that the jealousy of the Anglo-Irish rulers would have been buried in the same tomb with its miserable victims ; yet we find Elizabeth’s counsellors determining to continue that system of division and distraction, which had already caused such shedding of human blood, and waste of Irish treasure. After the experience of six hundred years of weakness and poverty, it is incredible to suppose that Irishmen or Englishmen, in the nineteenth century, should be found to echo the sentiments and opinions of some of those selfish and unenlightened counsellors of Elizabeth, who thus spoke to their sovereign :—“ Should we exert ourselves,” said they, “ in reducing Ireland to order and civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence, and riches ; the inhabitants will be thus alienated from England ; they will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or perhaps

erect themselves into an independent and separate state. Let us rather connive at their disorder; for a weak and disordered people never can attempt to detach themselves from the crown of England.”* May it not then be asked, have such been the effects of that mild and benignant policy which extended to Ireland the rights and privileges of the British constitution? Have those who accumulated fortunes and obtained honours, under the protecting patronage of a free constitution, exhibited any disposition to destroy the hand which enriched them, or overturn the government which sheltered them? The people and the government of a free country are both equally anxious to defend each other; the wealth and strength of the one are the wealth and strength of the other; but the government which rests its security on the poverty of the people, must trust to the terror of the bayonet, or the cruelty of penal law, for its defence against the disaffection of that people it rules over. The reign we are giving a brief account of, demonstrates this truth in the most glaring colours; its policy was as impoverishing to the royal treasury, as it was cruel and merciless to the Irish people.

* The same miserable policy recommended to Elizabeth, has been zealously acted upon, even within the last fifty years. Men of talents and plausibility have been found among the ranks of the monopolists, who will unblushingly advocate a system, which they are convinced leads to public ruin and convulsion. Lord Clare and Mr Foster, in our own times, have sacrificed the rights and feelings of three-fourths of their countrymen, to the ascendancy of a faction, of which they might be the leaders and demigods. Such is the wretched ambition of some men, whose talents secretly despise the duty their corruption and their vanity prompt them to perform.

Sir John Perrot, an Englishman of whose character historians speak with much admiration, was now, (1584,) appointed deputy ; and it is with pleasure we observe his honourable efforts to heal the wounds inflicted by his predecessor ; he was an advocate for mild and parental measures. Convinced of the superiority of British law, in the dispensation of equal and impartial justice, we find him making every exertion to communicate to the distracted people of the south, those salutary regulations which were calculated to procure peace and tranquillity. The Irish meet their viceroy with corresponding sentiments, regard and confidence, and profess the most dutiful alacrity to acquiescence ; they agree with the regulations of Sir John Perrot, who appoints sheriffs to the counties of Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, Leitrim, and assigns the presidency of the whole province to Sir Richard Bingham. We shall now see great examples of the happy and productive effects of fair and equitable government. When Sir John Perrot was making his usual and salutary arrangement in the south, an account arrives of the landing of one thousand Scotch in Ulster ; The deputy returned to Dublin, received the subscriptions of some of the Leinster chieftains, and marched to the north. Mr Leland's reflection is here worthy the attention of every reader : “ Here the appearance of a governor, renowned for valour and justice, and noted especially for a humane and equitable attention to the ancient natives, had a sudden and powerful effect. The new arrived Scots fled to their ships,

and left their brethren of Ulster, after some ineffectual resistance, to make their peace with government." Is not this fact a volume to every governor of Ireland, to act towards Ireland with justice and with mercy? "The Irish chieftains crowded to Sir John Perrot," says Mr Leland, "with the most zealous professions of loyalty and submission."—Would the cold and frozen heart of such a man as Lord Gray, whose bravery was that of the assassin, and whose mercy was that of the tyger—would his appearance produce an instantaneous movement of loyal and grateful fidelity at the moment of formidable invasion? The Irish heart, which is not insensible to services, nor unforgetful of injuries, will answer the question; but the effects of Sir John Perrot's wisdom do not stop here; he prevails on the Irish to maintain a force of eleven hundred men at their own expence, to be devoted to the service of Elizabeth.* This, no doubt, astonished the men who reposed no confidence in Ireland; but such will ever be the effects of a generous and manly policy. England is now convinced of it, and every year adds new force to its truth, and new inducements to its adoption. The honourable and useful course which this wise and excellent man was pursuing, was doomed to be interrupted by those little intriguing reptiles, which sometimes undermine the most sound and generous understand-

* The Irish chieftains agreed to maintain eleven hundred men for the queen, at their own charge, provided they were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and be liberated from the ravages and oppressions of the sheriffs.

dings, and by misrepresentation and falsehood succeed in perverting every act, discolouring every motive, and making the virtues which they hate the instruments of ruin to their amiable and enlightened possessors.

“Sir John Perrot,” says Mr Leland, “ever professed a tender regard for the rights of the old native Irish ;* a principle equally honourable and politic, and which naturally made him attentive to guard against oppression and abuses in the lower offices of administration ; and this could scarcely fail of raising a number of secret enemies.

Loftus, the archbishop of Dublin, in consequence of a plan suggested by Sir John Perrot, to erect a university in Ireland militating against his personal

* The results of Sir John Perrot’s administration incontrovertibly prove, if proof were wanting to elucidate a self-evident proposition, “that such a national emancipation could have been effected,—uniting the two races, English and Irish, into one people ; obeying one government, agreeably to one constitution and system of laws, without fighting a blow ; but it would not suit the inhuman policy of those who wished to keep the Irish divided and poor, to ensure their obedience, nor of those blood-thirsty vultures, who sought the confiscation of a kingdom, by exterminating a nation always renowned for hospitality, generosity, sanctity, and learning ; the eminent benefactress of England and Europe ; nor the queen, whose unquenchable fury against the catholic faith, required the extirpation thereof out of the land. What if the Milesians were exterminated by war, perished by famine, by murderous banquets and negotiations, sham plots ? Elizabeth could colonize the land, and thus get rid of the superabundant population of Ireland.” The above reflection came from the pen of Mr Taaffe, whose integrity and warm feelings for his country’s sufferings render his history truly valuable to Irishmen.

interest, made every possible effort to misrepresent the deputy to Elizabeth. The friend of the Irish people was immediately assailed by all the satellites which circulate round corruption and rapacity ; the queen was surrounded with a crowd of whisperers against the character of Sir John Perrot ; and the services of a wise and faithful servant were obliterated from the royal mind by the ceaseless importunities of a despicable faction. So certain was Perrot that he could successfully confute his accusers, that he petitioned Elizabeth to suffer him to appear before her, to justify his conduct, and to confound his enemies. A Spanish invasion being at the time apprehended, Sir John Perrot proposed to Elizabeth, as the best evidence of the regard in which he was held in Ireland, and of the influence which he enjoyed, that he would bring with him to her majesty a number of Irish chieftains of the several provinces, on whom the common enemy relied for the success of their enterprise,—and that those very chieftains would be hostages to her majesty for the fidelity of her Irish people. The applications of Sir John Perrot do not appear to have been attended to ; for the present, however, he was not disturbed in his government. The Irish parliament proceeded to attain the Earl of Desmond and his adherents ; and the favourite plan of re-peopling Munster with English adventurers, began to be acted upon with vigour. Those English officers who distinguished themselves in the persecution of the Irish people, received grants of large portions of Irish territory. Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Christo-

pher Hatton, Sir Thomas Morris, Sir Warham St Leger, received exclusive donations; it is easy to conceive the miserable state of the poor devoted inhabitants, who still occupied those lands, whom the sword had spared for the cold relentless cruelty of those unjust task-masters that were doomed to be their landlords. Such persons as these we have named, entrusted the settlement of their estates to agents, *middle men*, ignorant, voracious and corrupt. They became powerful sources of that heart-burning vexation that found relief only in those moments of public convulsion, which frequently exposed to hazard the connexion between England and Ireland. Had the same spirit of kindness and mercy which governed the bosom of Sir John Perrot, characterized those English governors who were sent into the different provinces, much advantage would have flowed from the communication of British laws and British customs; but the wanton tyranny of Sir Richard Bingham disgusted them with every thing English in the province of Connaught. The sheriffs, and other officers of justice, emulated the example of the president: and the whole province presented a scene of suffering on the side of the people, and the most goading tyranny on the part of their governors. Sir John Perrot listened with respect to the complaints of the people, and summoned the president to the seat of government: the Scotch invade the province, and Sir John Perrot is obliged to take the reins of power into his own hands, and thus protect Sir Richard Bingham against the consequences of his own cruelty and folly. The people of the north were equally oppressed and plun-

dered by those law officers of Elizabeth. Her sheriffs were here equally odious as in Connaught, and the whole system of English policy the subject of general execration. About this period, Hugh O'Nial, whose power was formidable to England, obtained from the Irish parliament the title of Earl of Tyrone; he also succeeded in obtaining the inheritance of his ancestor, John O'Nial, by his personal application to the queen. The abilities and address of this celebrated Irishman are described by historians as of the first note. Mr Leland thus describes him: " Less respected in his sept, on account of the illegitimacy of his descent, he entered easily into the service of the English government, and in the rebellion of Desmond, was distinguished for his industry, activity, and valour. By an English education, and a constant intercourse with the state, he added the polish of English manners to a temper naturally insinuating and subtile; but this refinement he could easily disguise among his own people, and assume all the port, and accommodate himself to all the barbarous manners of O'Nial. He succeeded in his interviews with Elizabeth, and made the most favourable impression on her mind; she dismissed him with sentiments of the greatest confidence in his zeal and fidelity to her throne and interest. Every act of his life, from the period of his being vested with the title and inheritance of Tyrone, seems to have been auxiliary to the great scheme of asserting his independence against the usurpation of England. At the moment most confidence was reposed, he

was most securely laying the foundation of that power which became so truly formidable to the British interests. Surrounded as the Earl was by rival chieftains, and a wily administration, he has given no small proofs of great dexterity in his address, and great ingenuity in his designs."

About this period, (1587), Ireland was deprived of the kind and parental government of Sir John Perrot; and the same scenes of confusion and desolation which we have recorded, are about to be again visited on this ill-fated country, by the cruelty or the folly of his successor. The Irish followed their beloved governor in tears; and by the lamentations with which Sir John Perrot was accompanied, when giving up his administration, we may conceive that the people had a melancholy foreboding of the scenes which were to follow. Sir William Fitzwilliam succeeded to Sir John Perrot; and, as if it were the study of the English government to undo the wise and beneficent work of his predecessor, they took care to select that man whose vicious and corrupt propensities could best accomplish its wishes. Cruel, avaricious, and despotic, no mercy was great enough to impede the progress of his sword—no submission sufficiently passive to restrain the fury of his despotism. After the defeat of the celebrated armada, pompously stiled the invincible, seventeen ships belonging to this Quixotic expedition of the Spanish monarch were driven by a storm on the northern coasts of Ireland; they carried five thousand four hundred men—a formidable force, considering the then alienated state of the Irish, as

well as the colony. O'Ruarc, the chieftain of Breffney, hospitably received the enemy. He flattered himself that with such co-operation, another struggle might be made for the liberty of his country, and the safety of his religion. The Spanish commander, however, declined the overtures made to him by the Irish, and left his host and Ireland to the vengeance of an enraged English governor. O'Ruarc was conquered in the field, and being taken prisoner, was sent to London, where he was executed as a traitor. The avarice of Sir William Fitzwilliam was sharpened by the reports, that the Spanish vessels driven into the north, carried large quantities of gold and silver; he sent forward his emissaries to pursue their inquiries with fire and sword; and enraged by the barrenness of his pursuit, he sacrificed Sir Owen O'Toole, and Sir John O'Doherty to his disappointed avarice. These two Irishmen were remarkable for the zeal of their loyalty, and the sincerity of their fidelity. Such wanton atrocity succeeded in obliterating the favourable impressions which the government of Sir John Perrot had made on the minds of the Irish; he soon after ordered MacMahon, the head of one of the principal families in Monaghan, to be tried by a jury of private soldiers, for the violation of a law of which the accused was not aware, or before such law was established in the country: the pretext was sufficient when the reward was taken into consideration; the estates of this devoted Irish chieftain were distributed among the followers of the deputy. The natural effect of such proceedings

was an universal abhorrence of every institution recommended by England ; the distribution of English justice was, in the opinion of the Irish, the dissemination of ruin and desolation ; the sheriffs were considered as executioners, and their boasted trial by jury was looked on as a mere plausible scheme by which their plans of barbarity might be perpetrated. The celebrated saying of Macguire, the chieftain of Fermanagh, demonstrates the feelings of horror with which the Irish contemplated the introduction of British law. When Fitzwilliam, the deputy, told Macguire that he intended to send a sheriff into his district, he answered with a simplicity and humour peculiar to his country—"Your sheriff shall be welcome ; but let me know his errand, that if my people should cut off his head, I may levy it upon the country."—The protestant university of Dublin was founded about this period, and notwithstanding the miserable illiberality and narrowness of the principles on which it was established, has succeeded in giving to Ireland, and to the world, the greatest geniuses in every art and science.

The mind which even this partial patronage has brought forth, demonstrates the abundance of intellectual wealth with which Ireland is pregnant ; and though we must ever consider the seminary in which Usher, Swift, Burke, Flood, Grattan, and Curran had graduated, as a blessing to our country, yet we cannot forget that Trinity college has also been the nurse of every prejudice, the slave of every despot, and the sycophantic tool of every

bad passion which has guided the helm of our country for the last two hundred years.

The artful minister of Elizabeth recommended this perennial fountain of hatred to the mere Irish, as the chief monument of her antipathy to the ancient religion of Irishmen; and under the fascinating robe of national education, she concealed the secret design of establishing an everlasting bank of national antipathy, on which England might draw without the possibility of exhaustion.

Trinity college was incorporated on the 29th day of December, 1591. It was to consist of a provost, three fellows, in the name of more, and three scholars in the name of more. Cecil, the great and artful minister of Elizabeth, was named in the charter first chancellor, and all future elections were vested in the provost and fellows; they were to hold their stations for seven years, and to be visited by the Archbishop of Dublin, Bishop of Meath, vice-treasurers, treasurer at war, chief justice, and mayor of Dublin. Mr Leland writes, that the institution had to struggle with the poverty of the kingdom, and the reluctance of the popish party: a most extraordinary circumstance, no doubt, when it is considered that the object of its foundation was the extinction of the Irish religion, and the subjugation of the Irish conscience. It was one of those expedients which fanaticism is perpetually furnishing to the passions of its votaries, in which we see the mild and universal tolerance of the Christian sacrificed to the idle and fruitless visions of the sectarian;—in which the human mind is forced to move, as in a magic circle, out of whose peri-

phery neither truth is to be heard, nor salvation to be obtained. Exclusive doctrines, which presumptuously pronounce on the everlasting doom of humanity, are no longer attended to by the reflecting or the merciful : every man is suffered, (without being exposed to the reproach of libertinism,) to follow the suggestions of his own conscience. The comprehensive principles of Christianity are preferred to the contracted feelings of religious monopoly, and a happy futurity is no longer denied to be the reward of every man who conscientiously follows the religion of his fathers.

It was about the year 1594, that O’Nial, the Earl of Tyrone, excited the suspicions of the English government, by his wily and inexplicable conduct ; at one time manifesting a spirit of dissatisfaction, at another co-operating with the viceroy in the establishment of English laws and English habits. On the death of Turlough O’Nial, the Earl of Tyrone assumed the high and important title of “ the O’Nial,” and seized and threw into prison the sons of John O’Nial, who were the only bars to his ambition. The government of Elizabeth in Ireland was unable to punish such violence, and was content to receive the well-dissembled homage of this artful Irish chieftain. The power of the English in Ireland, was now formidably threatened by the vigorous and rapid movements of O’Donnell in Fermanagh. The Earl of Tyrone, though so often successful in conciliating the confidence of the English, was suspected to be the principal source of all the calamities which now visited the colony.

Elizabeth became alarmed for her English sub-

jects in Ireland, and immediately sent forward one of her most experienced captains, Sir John Morris, at the head of three thousand veteran troops, to put down the formidable combination with which the Irish government was threatened. The Earl of Tyrone, on this occasion, put forth all the resources which an ingenious duplicity could suggest: secretly stirring up the most powerful Irish chieftains against the English, while he was professing the most passive submission, and courting, in the most earnest manner, the co-operation of the Spanish monarch, at the moment he was admitted to the confidence of Elizabeth's Irish government. We cannot suppose that any other consideration but the prudent apprehension of the formidable power of the Irish chieftains, could have induced the ministers of Elizabeth to advise her to sooth and conciliate an enemy whose guilt was so palpable, and whose violence was so flagrant. We therefore find commissioners appointed to treat with Tyrone and O'Donnell, and the redress of all grievances of which the Irish had to complain, set forth as the condition of their alliance and the price of their friendship; the full and free exercise of their religion, (the constant prayer of Ireland,) and that the part of the country possessed by the rebel chieftains, should be freed from the dreadful scourge of English garrisons and English sheriffs. Those terms were rejected, and the Irish flew to arms to assert their rights and privileges. Sir John Morris, a brave and humane soldier, marched against the enemy; but inexperienced in a species of war-

fare peculiar to Ireland, he was deprived of the opportunity of acquiring any considerable military fame. The soldiers whom he commanded, were unaccustomed to the air as well as food of Ireland; they were less patient of labour and distress, and little capable of bearing up against that perpetual harassing, to which they were exposed from the practice of retreating within the bogs and fortresses which covered the country. All those parts of Ulster, which are now scenes of the most improved agriculture, and the favoured seat of an enriching manufacture, was, at the period of which we are writing, covered with woods, deep and impenetrable to the English.

It is to this ignorance of the country, that we are to attribute the facility with which the English general was induced to treat with Tyrone and the Irish, who had now despaired of the promised relief from Spain. The power and menaces of the Spanish monarch occupied the entire mind of Elizabeth; and she was not displeased at any expedient that could, even for the moment, protect her against the embarrassment of an Irish war. Tyrone, experienced in all the arts of diplomacy, did not hesitate to subscribe to any conditions which might conciliate so powerful an enemy; he agreed, in the year 1596, to admit sheriffs into his country; he surrendered the title of O'Nial, confessed his correspondence with foreign powers, and almost agreed to become the vassal of an English viceroy. O'Donnell, O'Ruarc, and MacGuire made similar submissions.

The affairs of the north being thus settled, Sir John Morris proceeded to Connaught, the scene of the most wanton oppressions, by Sir Richard Bingham. The peculiar address with which Tyrone must have conducted himself to disarm the resentment of his enemies, after so many provocations, must compel the most partial historian to allow, that the talents of the Irish chieftain must have been of the first order. In answer to the charges of dissimulation and hypocrisy which Mr Leland brings against Tyrone, in all his communications with the English government, through servants of the colony, Mr Taaffe makes the following very just observations:—"Tyrone had two incompatible interests to manage; that of the northern Irish, who daily experienced such violent oppressions from government as seemed to announce a settled plan for their total extirpation, and that of the exterminating power, which though it chose to employ him, gave him abundant proof that it did not trust him, and meant to devour him, perhaps the last. In all his trials, (and he had severe ones), he acted with great judgment, and cool steady resolution, confounding his enemies, and bringing home conviction to the queen, her council, and her generals, by facts and arguments which they were unable to withstand. It has been said, he had great powers of persuasion; they must have been great indeed, were they able to deceive such understandings as the ministers of Elizabeth possessed: such minds as Bacon's, Cecil's, Walsingham's. If he possessed talents equal

to the conviction, or rather, to the fascination of such men as those, without truth or justice on his side, he must have been the most eloquent of orators. The fact is, he struggled to keep the peace of the north as long as it could be kept, without sacrificing his religion and the interests of the northerners, which would cause a general alienation of all hearts from him, and degrade him to a vile satellite of tyranny, despised even by those whom he served. It appears that Tyrone was able to baffle the exertions of Sir John Morris, whose unproductive campaigns now began to excite the dissatisfaction of his sovereign ; he was ordered to surrender the vice-regency of the colony to Lord Burgh, whose character fitted him for that desperate warfare which Ireland then exhibited. Sir John Morris, a man of the highest honour and most acute sensibility, fell a victim to the displeasure of Elizabeth, and is said to have died of a broken heart in the arms of his brother. We shall pass over the various subordinate efforts made by the colony to reduce the power of Tyrone, and proceed to that in which Tyrone succeeded in obtaining a signal triumph over his enemies. Tyrone determined to attack the fort of Blackwater ; this fort, being one of the most important depots of English strength in the north, was defended with as much spirit as it was assailed. The English and Irish armies, headed by two generals, not more remarkable for their valour and their prowess, than for the rancorous antipathy they entertained towards each other, seemed determined to decide the fate of Ireland

by a single battle. Marshal Bagnal commanded four thousand five hundred foot and five hundred horse, composed of those veterans who distinguished themselves in the campaigns of the continent; they were opposed to an Irish army nearly of equal numbers, animated by every stimulant that can inflame the human bosom. The onset of the Irish was furious and irresistible; the English army retired before the shock, and the marshal was one of the first who fell under the swords of the Irish. Victory almost immediately declared for Tyrone; fifteen hundred English fell on the field of battle; the slaughter of their principal officers was unexampled: Tyrone became master of all the artillery, and provisions and ammunition of the royal army, and the fort of Blackwater, the great object of his ambition, surrendered at discretion. Borlase, speaking of this victory, says, that “such a victory the Irish never gained since the English first set foot in Ireland.” Tyrone’s implacable enemy, Marshal Bagnal, with other principal officers, was slain. The brilliant triumph of the Irish under Tyrone, fanned the almost extinguished embers of insurrection in the western and southern counties of Ireland. The lords of Lixnaw, Fermoy, Mountgarrett, Cahir, united with the Irish against the English; and the Geraldines, who were distinguished by the popular titles of the *Knights of the Valley*, and the *White Knights*, joined the general confederacy for the restoration of Irish independence. The power of England never received so great a shock as at this period; and Elizabeth had suffer-

ed so much in her finances, and in her peace of mind, by the exasperating prolongation of the Irish war, that she would not, according to the English historian, have much regretted the total loss of such an incumbrance on her government. "The English council," Mr Hume writes, "were now sensible that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporizing acts of granting truce and pacification to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchase pardons by resigning part of the plunder acquired during their insurrection, served only to encourage the spirit of mutiny and disorder among them. Elizabeth, therefore, determined that a decided blow should be struck, and that a force should be sent into Ireland, which, from its magnitude, must command the reduction of the island." A tolerably correct idea may be formed of the resources of the Irish, by the extent of the force they were now to bring into the field against the English. The Earl of Essex, to whom Elizabeth was personally devoted, was selected to command the greatest expedition ever sent against Ireland; he was created Lord Lieutenant, and put at the head of twenty thousand men, with a power of pardoning all treasons, of removing officers, and conferring dignities; he might conduct the war as his discretion dictated, and was only responsible to Elizabeth, whose affections he commanded with unprecedented success. Tyrone and his companions in arms were undismayed by those gigantic preparations of Elizabeth: the flame of liberty spread through every corner of Ireland,

and the glory of making a great and unanimous struggle for their freedom animated every bosom at this most eventful crisis. The Earl of Essex was in a short time undeceived with respect to the resistance which the Irish were able to make ; he was opposed in every quarter ; harassed by indefatigable enemies, who were intimately informed in all the difficulties which the country possessed, and at length forced to acknowledge, that even the great force committed to his direction by Elizabeth, was inadequate to the reduction of so formidable a power as the Irish commanded. He complains that the great cement which held the Irish together was their inveterate antipathy to the reformed religion ; that the priests of their own persuasion so entirely possessed their confidence, that unless by fraud or by force something was done to reduce their power, England would have little chance of making a permanent conquest of Ireland. The enemies of Essex lost no time in exaggerating the disgrace of the British arms, and the vain-glorious boastings of their leader. The army of the latter was reduced so low as four thousand, when Tyrone, who expected a considerable supply of arms, money, and ammunition from Spain, proposed a parley to the English general. The circumstances in which Essex stood, forced him to embrace an offer which might be the means of retrieving his strength.— A truce for five weeks was agreed to, and the usual conditions which we see the Irish demanding after every struggle with England, of a free exercise of their religion, the restoration of their lands,

and an exemption from the English government, were agreed to by Essex as a reasonable ground of conciliation between the two powers. Such a treaty, with such an enemy as Tyrone, was a source of the bitterest mortification to the queen, who at this time began to suspect the designs of her favourite Essex. It is said she wrote to that general with her own hand, a letter of severe remonstrance, which stung him so poignantly, that he determined to repair immediately to her royal presence and confront his enemies. He left the government of Ireland to Sir George Carew and Chancellor Loftus. Elizabeth was dressing in her bed-chamber when Essex rushed in, covered with dust. All the fond recollections of former confidence returned, which succeeded in suspending the indignation her misfortunes in Ireland had created; but when reflection began to return, and pride re-assumed its place in the bosom of the queen, the bold and impetuous favourite was repelled with indignity, he was ordered to confine himself to his chamber, and after being examined before the council, he was committed to the custody of the lord keeper. The disgrace suffered by Essex was a sure source of triumph to the Irish leaders; and the co-operation of Spain soon after, who sent supplies of money and ammunition, elevated their hopes to the highest pinnacle, of re-establishing the ancient liberties of their country. Tyrone, or rather O'Nial, the title so dear to Irish vanity, declared himself the champion of the holy faith, and thus backed by every passion of the human bosom, determined to make one effort more against the common enemy.

The power of the colony was never more formidably assailed than at the momentous crisis when its defence was entrusted to a governor who was not heretofore distinguished, either in the field or in the cabinet. Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed deputy of Ireland, with full power to act in this country in such a manner as his own judgment should best direct. A man of studious and secluded habits, little of enterprize was expected from his administration. He started from his study into the field, no doubt with an improved and highly cultivated understanding : and the results of his administration demonstrated, that it did not require years of practical experience to make a man of his capacity an efficient and successful officer. Under his administration, the power of the Irish received the most fatal blow ; under him, the Irish spirit was first obliged to bend to the overwhelming combination of force and fraud ; under him, England most successfully practised her schemes of division among the rival chieftains of Ireland ; he prosecuted the war against the Irish with an unprecedented vigour ; and the fame of O'Nial, which rendered the Irish so formidable an enemy, sunk before the ascendant fortune of Mountjoy. The various septs seceded from the standard of O'Nial, who was beaten in almost every effort to recover his military reputation. Mountjoy introduced a new system of warfare, which distressed the Irish much more than their accustomed pitched battles with the English ; he desolated the country, and thus deprived the Irish of the necessaries of life. Famine was judged by

him his most powerful ally ; and the fields of Ireland, which once exhibited the fruits of industry, were laid waste by the unpitying sword of an English army. To these evils were added the destructive plan of circulating a base currency through Ireland, by which the rival chieftains might be deprived of the means of procuring supplies from foreign countries. This plan, though it had the effect of multiplying the distresses of the Irish, recoiled on its authors ; for the army of the English were almost beggared, and their spirit almost conquered by the reflection, that the reward of all their toils was to be the possession of a depreciated and debased currency. " The hearts of the queen's soldiers," says Morrison, " failed herewith, for they served in discomfort, and came home beggars ; so that only the treasurers and pay-masters, who were thereby infinitely enriched, had cause to bless the authors of the invention." The murmurs of the soldiers were so great, that Mountjoy determined to give them all the occupation he could ; and with this view he portioned them into small divisions, and proceeded to the north against O'Nial, where he received the submission of many of the allies of this fallen chieftain.

The south of Ireland now presented a scene of formidable hostility, and Sir George Carew was instructed to lead his forces into that part of the country where the Irish strength appeared to be most advantageously posted. The people of the south had long complained of the oppression under which they suffered, the extortions of the English

sheriffs, the legal murders which were constantly perpetrating, on the base diabolical speculation of confiscating their properties, and the cruel and remorseless execution of the penal laws. The Irish historians of those days vindicate the resistance of their countrymen to the proselytizing spirit of Elizabeth, to which they attribute all the calamities under which Ireland now suffered. To the successful practice of intrigue and corruption, the Irish chieftains of the greatest influence were found to give their countenance : the rivalry of faction, the hatred of families, the jealousy of those little powers into which the Irish were divided, were so many instruments in the hands of Sir George Carew, to effect the subjugation of all. We therefore find the houses of MacArthy, in Munster, exhausting themselves in those destructive contests which left their country exposed to the common enemy. At the time Sir George Carew proceeded against Munster, the Irish had in a great measure settled all their domestic feuds, and from the apprehension of the common danger, joined against the invader of their territories ; but their numbers, however formidable, being commanded by separate and independent leaders, jealous of each other, and restrained by no superior authority, could never be able to cope with the English army, under a leader of decision and of talent, to whom all those he commanded looked up with common reverence, and among whom the spirit of faction and division could never enter. Against such an enemy as the Irish, the weapons of corruption are more formid-

able than the sword or the bayonet: the one would succeed in dividing and weakening, the other in uniting and strengthening. Sir George Carew therefore employed the artillery of jealousies and suspicions among the Irish, and succeeded in making the Irish chieftain the instrument of his own degradation. He stooped to the meanest artifices to entrap the Irish; he would bribe the sister to betray the brother, as in the case of the sister of the Earl of Desmond, who was married to Dermot O'Connor; and the servant to assassinate his master, as in the case of the servant of the said earl, who confessed at the place of execution, that he was bribed by Sir George Carew to perform so honourable a duty. Such were the practices by which he endeavoured to effect the humiliation of the Irish. When he drew his sword, the country through which he passed was marked with desolation; a divided people fled before the misery of famine; and the principal strong-hold of the south fell into the hands of Sir George Carew, by which he completed its conquest. Peace was restored; the peace of annihilation was established; and the Irish only then began to reflect on the folly of those jealousies which exposed them to the fury and the avarice of the common enemy.

The arms of Mountjoy and Sir George Carew had almost extinguished the spirit of insurrection, when the reports of a new supply from Spain, of men, arms, and money, circulated through every corner of the kingdom. For a length of time the rumour was discredited; it was supposed that the

advice of O'Nial's reverse of fortune might have reached the court of Spain, and prevented the effort which, in the days of victory, might have secured the freedom of Ireland. The Spaniards succeeded in effecting a landing at Kinsale in 1601, and as it generally happens in all such cases, the hopes of the invaders were considerably damped by the unflattering prospect which the country now presented of an active and efficient co-operation on the part of the Irish. O'Nial and O'Donnell, the one at the head of a considerable force from Connaught and Leinster, the other with the flower of the Ulster forces, marched to the assistance of their foreign friends, who were then besieged at Kinsale by Sir George Carew. The poor people of Ireland were once more animated with the hope of being able to recover their liberty and to preserve their religion; the clergy, whom Mr Leland so often represents as the bigotted fermenters of sedition, yielded to those feelings by which every honest Irish mind was impelled, and stimulated their oppressed and persecuted countrymen to a vigorous resistance of that power which had inflicted such unprecedented suffering throughout the land. The colony, on the other hand, put forth all their strength; and the English government lost no time in sending forward a large force to co-operate with the Lord Deputy. The Spaniards received a reinforcement, and all the disaffected septs of Ireland conceived that the hour of their deliverance from England had at length arrived. The exertion was universal, and the English army seemed threat-

ened with immediate annihilation, when they are rescued by the temerity and precipitancy of the Spanish commander. The English had laid siege to Cork, and, pressed by the army of O'Nial in their rear, they were nearly starved into submission, when the Spanish commander insisted that O'Nial should no longer delay attacking the English in their camp, who were diminished in numbers, and exhausted in spirit: the fatal order was obeyed, contrary to the advice of O'Nial, and the Irish army, after a furious conflict, was disgracefully routed. The various forces of which the Irish army was composed, retired to their respective provinces; and O'Nial and O'Donnell, stung with disappointment and vexation, from that day gave up the cause for which they had endured so much toil, and incurred so much danger.

The Spanish general, Don Juan, under the impression that the Irish had betrayed their country as well as their allies, immediately proposed a truce with Mountjoy, which, after some conferences, was granted. Mr Leland has written a speech for the Spanish general, which is not more disgraceful to the head than to the heart of the Spaniard; he makes him upbraid the Irish, who must have been so interested in the success of his enterprise, with treachery, weakness, and cowardice; and he represents the officer of a gallant and generous nation indulging in all the wretched effusions of pride, disappointment, and malice. We cannot subscribe to those relations, so inconsistent with the dictates of common sense, or the obvious suggestions of those circumstances un-

der which the Spaniards then acted in Ireland ; but we cannot close our eyes against the object of that historian, who, in every page of his history, struggles to obscure the character of a people who so long made a glorious resistance to the greatest despotism in Europe. After the failure of this last effort, O'Nial considered all further struggles as increasing the calamities of his country : we therefore find him submitting to the humiliating conditions of Mountjoy ; and almost at the moment the inveterate oppressor of his country, Elizabeth, was sinking into the tomb, O'Nial and his gallant companions were obliged to bow to the superior fortune of her arms. A tolerably correct opinion may be formed of the calamities endured by the Irish nation,*

* Mr Hume, whenever he writes of Ireland, indulges in all that high and swelling tone of national ascendancy, which the conqueror always assumes, when speaking of a fallen nation ; he takes but little pains in ascertaining the truth of his opinions, but suffers himself to be carried down the current of public rumour, which represented the Irish as a wild and barbarous nation. The volume of Bede, in which Mr Hume might have read of the ancient fame of Ireland, was open to him in vain ; the testimony of Alfred to the learning of Ireland, was for him recorded in vain. The integrity with which the poor people of Ireland clung to their ancient religion was, in the opinion of Mr Hume, an additional evidence of her barbarism ; and the virtues which should raise the Irish people in the estimation of every mind of sensibility and honour, are the proofs of that incorrigible spirit of resistance to the promulgation of those laws, and the rationality of that religion, which England so piously laboured to disseminate by fire and sword. “ Even at the end of the sixteenth century,” writes Mr Hume, “ when every Christian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its

during this remorseless struggle for her complete subjugation, by a view of the extraordinary prices

situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people, whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages, than of barbarians." Mr Hume has these observations on Ireland in his reign of Elizabeth; but in the reign of Henry VIII. the same historian seems to have forgotten, that he has most philosophically accounted for the barbarity which he so unfeelingly charges upon that country. Speaking of the cruelty and folly with which Ireland was treated by England, he says, that, "thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves within marshes and forests from the insolence of their unknown masters; being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous." These were the reasons why Ireland, in the sixteenth century, presented such a scene of ruin, and desolation, and barbarity; and they were bad reasons for upbraiding a nation which had been distinguished in Europe as a principal asylum of the arts and sciences. The ancient prosperity of Irish agriculture is well attested by the most respectable authorities, and the researches of the learned of modern days furnish us with proofs that even the mountains of Ireland were once the seats of wealth, population and refinement.

Molyneux, in a letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, thus writes: "Ireland has certainly been better inhabited formerly, than it is at present. Mountains that are now covered with bogs, have been formerly ploughed, for where you dig five or six feet deep, you discern a proper soil for vegetation, and find it ploughed into ridges and furrows. This is observable in the wild mountains between Armagh and Dundalk, and likewise on the mountains of Altimore; the same, as I am informed, has been observed in the counties of Derry and Donegal. A plough was found in a very deep bog in the latter, and an hedge with wattles standing under a bog that was five or six feet in depth. I have seen likewise large old oaks grow on land that had the remains of furrows and

of every necessary of life. If the Irishman was able to console himself with the reflection, that the

ridges, and I am told that on the top of a high mountain in the north there are yet remaining the streets, and other marks of a large town; and in truth there are few places, but either at present, or when the bog is removed, exhibit marks of the plough, which must surely have proved the country formerly to be well inhabited."

Morrison, from whom Mr Leland takes the burthen of his relation during the reign of Elizabeth, and who accompanied Mountjoy during the ferocious progress of that deputy's arms through Ireland, bears testimony to the prosperous state of the Irish agriculture, even in the sixteenth century. "I was surprised," he writes, "at the beauty and fertility of O'Moore's country, and the neat manner in which it was laid out for tillage." Giraldus Cambrensis, one of the most malignant and prejudiced writers of Irish misfortune, gives the following picture of Ireland: "The plains are fertile in corn, the mountains are covered with flocks, the woods abound with game:" also, "This island is rich in pasture and agriculture, in milk, in honey, and in wines, though not of its own growth. Stanihurst says, that Ireland was known to be rich in mines of different metals. Donatus, bishop of Fesul, near Florence, who wrote eleven centuries back, affirmed, that Ireland abounded with gems, cloth and gold; the great plenty of gold is attested by the quantity of plate used by the sovereigns of Tara, and in churches throughout the kingdom. The lofty golden goblets, which distinguished the ancient Irish feasts, are an evidence of the luxury of private families. With respect to the ancient commerce of Ireland, Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, affirms that the harbours of Ireland were more frequented by foreign merchants than Britain, and that Ireland connected the most powerful provinces of the empire, by a great commercial intercourse." Notwithstanding the denunciation of Mr Hume against the civilization of ancient Ireland, we must totally reject historical evidence, or admit that Ireland was the mart of civilization and science for the west of Europe. Her hospitality and learning are extolled by all the writers of the middle ages; from all parts of Europe, its youth flocked hither in

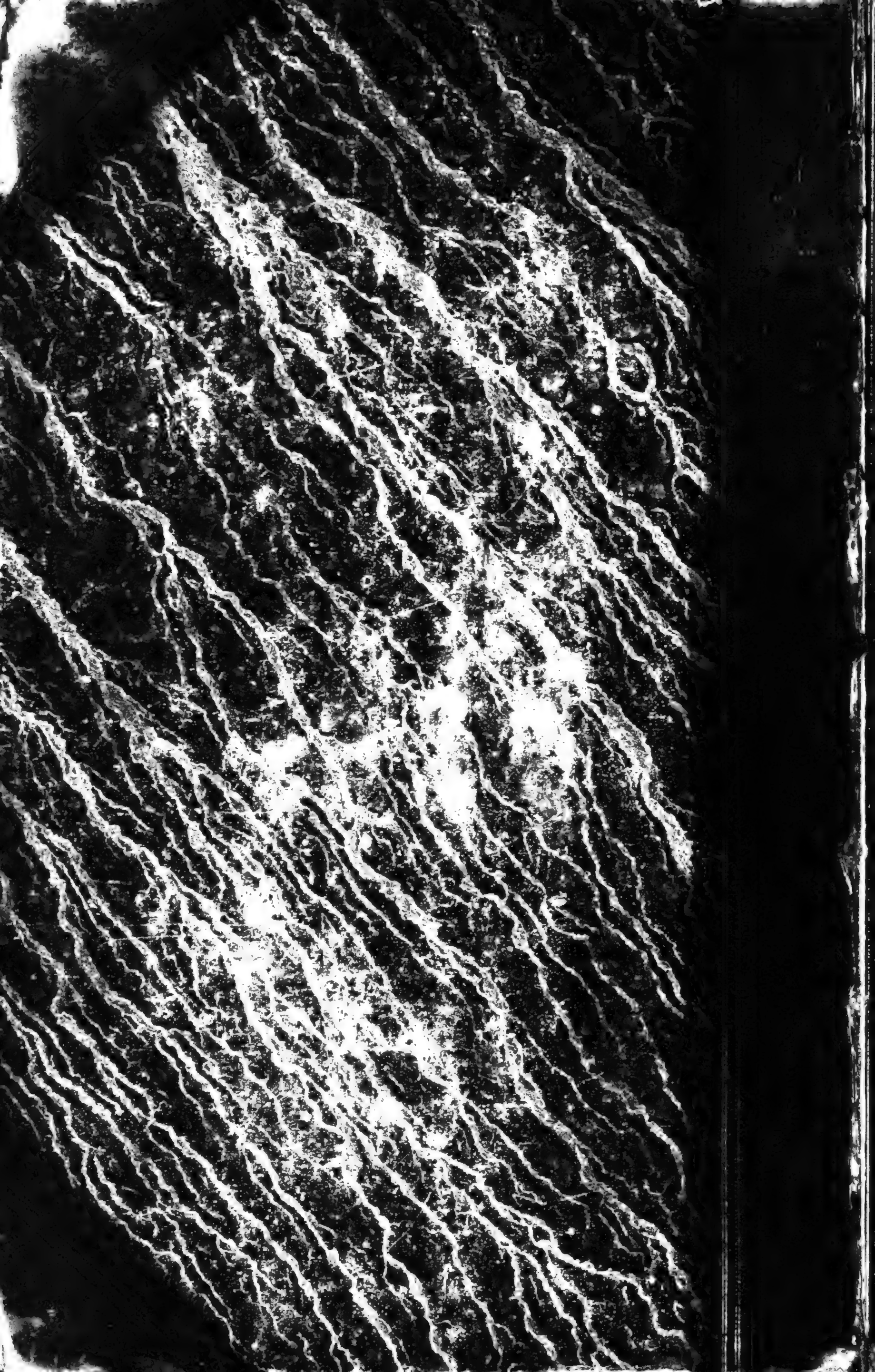
last act of Ireland's suffering closed with the life of Elizabeth, and that its devoted inhabitants were hereafter to enjoy the blessings of protection and tranquillity; the blood which had been shed in the defence of this licentious liberty, enjoyed by the various septs into which Irishmen were divided, and by which they were so often distracted and convulsed, would not be considered a dear purchase for the establishment of legitimate government, and the impartial dispensation of justice. The most ardent lover of Irish freedom might not have lamented the overthrow of a system which contained in its principles such fruitful seed of anarchy and weakness; and the introduction of English laws and customs would have been received by the patriot and the philosopher as the healer of those wounds with which the fugitive and cowardly wars of nearly five centuries had disfigured

crowds, and Irish professors laid the first foundation of seminaries and universities abroad.

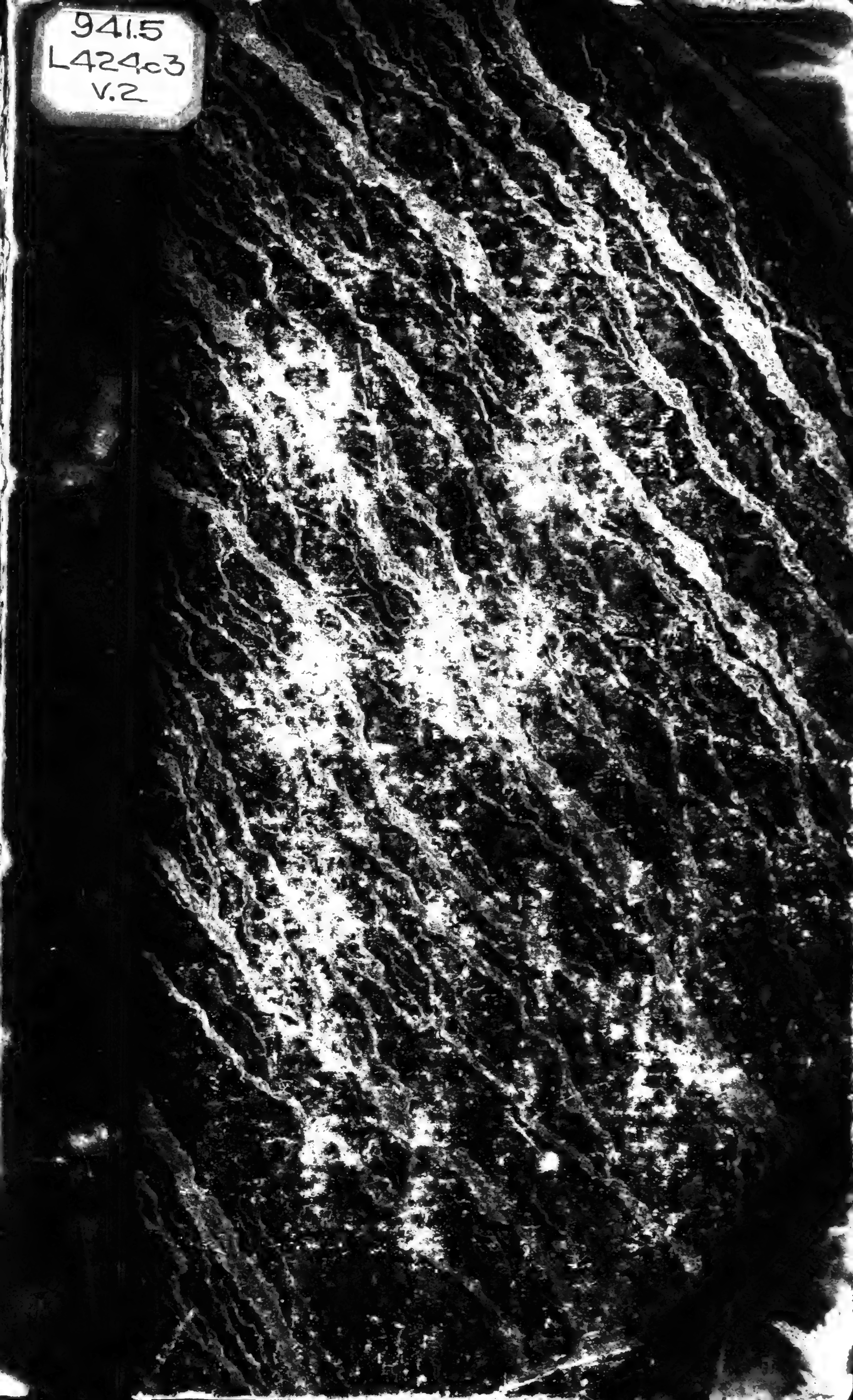
The ancient state of Irish learning, so flattering to the pride of an Irishman, is proved beyond the possibility of controversy. There is not a fact in history which may not be disputed, if we hesitate to give credit to the testimonies in favour of our ancient literature. Bede, Usher, Camden, abound with evidence in support of the ancient literary fame of Ireland. Camden, speaking of Sulgenus, who flourished in the tenth century, thus writes; "He was sent into Ireland for his education; he went hither to court the muses in a land far famed for admirable wisdom; and our English ancestors appear to have borrowed thence their alphabet, as they formerly used the same which is employed to this day in Ireland; so that Ireland was adorned with the splendour of genius in those ages, when the rest of the christian world lay immured in darkness."

this country. The scenes which are to follow afford no such consolation to the afflicted reader; the cruelty of the sword only gives way to the more torturing cruelty of the law; and the ambition of the soldier, which so often threw a ray of glory over the most dreadful catastrophe, is hereafter to be succeeded by the creeping and insidious artifice of the legal trader on the feelings and the miseries of Irishmen. Elizabeth succeeded in breaking down the hitherto untameable spirit of Ireland; and prosecuted the war against a brave and conscientious nation, with a fear and barbarity almost unexampled in the annals of history.

By an unrelenting system of oppression and violence she overturned a power which had existed for three thousand years; a power which sometimes greatly struggled with difficulties, was often distinguished by its splendour, its glory, and its intrinsic benefit to mankind; renowned for its sanctity, its learning, hospitality, charity, valour and honour. This country, which an insatiable thirst of dominion and avarice laid waste with such un pitying desolation, had once the merit of diffusing through the nations of Europe religion, learning, and the arts; a proud and consoling fact, to which the high and undisputed authority of Bede, Alfred and Camden, bear a willing and ingenuous testimony.



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A
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OF THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

From the earliest Period

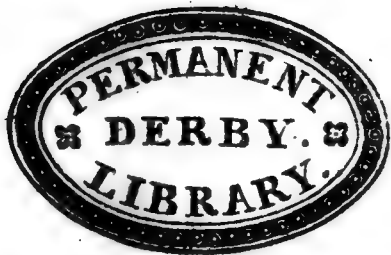
TO
THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

BY JOHN LAWLESS, Esq.

PROPRIETOR AND EDITOR OF THE IRISHMAN, PUBLISHED IN BELFAST.

Historia est temporum testis, lux veritatis, magistra vitæ, vita memoriæ, et nuncia antiquitatis.—CICERO.

History is the witness of times past, the light of truth, the mistress of life, the life of memory, and the herald of antiquity.



THIRD EDITION.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR EFFINGHAM WILSON,
ROYAL EXCHANGE.

1824.

941.5
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THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

JAMES I.

A. D. **NOTWITHSTANDING** the calamities which the
1603. people of Ireland had suffered for their fidelity to their religion, we have still to witness the existence of a spirit, which no persecution, short of annihilation, seemed wholly able to extinguish. On the death of Elizabeth, a gleam of hope animated the bosom of Ireland, and the character and policy of the queen's successors, gave her some reasonable grounds for supposing that the sword would be sheathed, and that her ancient religion would no longer be a subject of reproach, or of penalty. Foreign powers took advantage of the interval of peace which the death of Elizabeth bestowed upon Ireland; and to the industry with which they inculcated the principles of unappeasable hostility to the doctrines of the reformation,

may be attributed a great portion of that jealousy and hatred entertained by James and his counselors against the catholics of Ireland. The extirpation of the catholic and his religion, was considered as the only mode of securing the power of England against the perpetual experiments of foreign powers. Mountjoy, therefore, marched into the south of Ireland, determined to extinguish the rising spirit of insurrection : Cashel, Clonmel, Limerick, which had declared for the free and public exercise of catholicity, submitted to the discretion of the deputy. The public heart was now so completely broken down, that the government of James conceived it a proper season to allay the jealousies and apprehensions of the Irish, by freeing them from the dreadful vengeance of those laws which had been so lately violated. For this purpose, an act of oblivion and indemnity was proclaimed throughout the country ; all offences committed against the crown, committed at any time before the king's accession, were pardoned, and the whole body of the Irish yeomanry were received into his majesty's most gracious protection. This was the last act of Mountjoy's administration. Soon after, he returned to England, accompanied by the Earl of Tyrone and Roderic O'Donnell. They were both graciously received by the king, who confirmed Tyrone in all the honours of his house. The extension of English law, and the establishment of public justice followed the restoration of public peace ; and, if we are to credit the authority of Sir John Davis (one of the itinerant judges who visit-

ed the province of Ulster), the common people experienced great comfort from the overthrow of that petty oppression under which they had been accustomed to live.

Sir Arthur Chichester succeeded Lord Mountjoy, as governor of Ireland ; and in his government we find the work of reformation advancing with rapid strides. He suppressed the sept of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and converted their territory into an English county ; he established courts of justice in Connaught, and restored the circuit of Munster ; he abolished the old Irish customs of tanistry and gavelkind. Irish estates were made descendable according to the course of the common law of England. The Brehon jurisdiction was set aside,* and the native Irish were admitted to all the privileges of English law. The impartial dispensation of justice conciliated the affections of

* By the Brehon law or custom, every crime, however enormous, was punished, not with death, but by a fine, or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Murder, according to the best authorities, was a crime particularly excepted, as one for which nothing short of the forfeiture of the offender's life could make atonement. The customs of gavelkind and tanistry were attended with the same absurdities in the distribution of property. Upon the death of any person, his land, by the custom of gavelkind, was divided among all the males of the sept or family, both bastard and legitimate ; and after partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons ; but the chieftain, at his discretion, made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share. As no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land, —to build, to plant, to inclose, to cultivate, to improve, would have been so much lost labour.

the people, who had so long suffered under the tumultuous violence of the Irish chieftains. The next important measure adopted by James, was the settlement of property, correctly ascertaining the rights of individuals. For this purpose, a commission of grace was issued under the great seal of England, for securing the subjects of Ireland against all claims of the crown. From various motives, from fear of the past, and from apprehension of the future, to guard against the vengeance of the crown, as well as to improve their tenure for life, to an estate in fee, numbers surrendered their lands, and received them back again as the tenants of the crown. The poorer classes of the community were protected against the exaction of their landlords, by the certainty of an annual rent, beyond which the landlord could not advance his claim. Just regulations gave every man a valuable interest in the lands of which he was the master; and building, planting, cultivation, and civilization, were their immediate fruits. The towns soon followed the example of the country, and new charters, granting new privileges, were liberally substituted for the old discouraging charters under which they had heretofore exercised their power. The benefit which would have flowed to Ireland from that mild and conciliating system upon which the servants of James had hitherto acted, would soon have obliterated the remembrance of all that violence of which we have given an account, were it not that the virulence of religious animosity was doomed to succeed to the desolation of the sword,

and the bigotry of the monarch against the ancient religion of Ireland, to the hostility of his country against her rights, her independence and character. It was reasonable that the Irish people should have flattered themselves with protection from that monarch who had so often made professions of his attachment to the head of their religion; but when he came to the throne, he had to consult the prejudices of the puritans of England—at this period the most powerful religious party in his dominions. James, therefore, issued his proclamations against the catholics; he commanded all Jesuits to leave the kingdom, unless they conformed to the established religion.

Such violent proceedings excited the apprehensions of all the old English catholic families of the pale, who immediately determined on presenting a remonstrance to the monarch. Their petition was answered by the arrest of Sir Patrick Barnwall, who was soon after sent a prisoner into England. The boldness with which the catholics demanded the toleration of their religion, encouraged the circulation of the rumour that a conspiracy was forming by the principal Irish chieftains, Tyrone and Tyrconnell, to seize upon the Irish government, and assassinate the deputy and his council. The interest of both Tyrone* and Tyrconnell were so opposed to any plan of this kind, their reconcile-

* Tyrone was at this time so closely looked after, that he was heard to complain, "that he had so many eyes watching over him, as that he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof in a few hours."—*Sir John Davis' History*,

ment with the English government so complete, and their restoration to their ancient honours and estates so well established, that the most impartial historians have concluded, that such a conspiracy only had existence in the minds of those who contemplated new confiscations of Irish property. The plan had the desired effect; both Tyrone and Tyrconnell felt that it would be an idle display of courage to confront their enemies, or to demand justice from that power which appeared to be the secret instrument of the confederacy against their lives and properties. They therefore fled to the continent, and abandoned their vast possessions to the disposal of the crown.* The greatest and most valuable parts of Ulster escheated to the crown; and James was then put in possession of a country into which he might introduce the principle and the practice of English laws. A petty insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty gave new pretexts to the enemies of the Irish, to extend their plans of confiscation; and six northern counties, Tyrconnell, now called Donegall, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, amounting to about five hundred thousand acres, were now at the disposal of the English monarch. "James," says Mr Leland, "who affected to derive his glory from the arts of peace, resolved to dispose of those lands in such a

* Tyrone fled privately into Normandy, in 1607, thence to Flanders, and thence to Rome, where he lived on the pope's allowance, became blind, and died in the year 1616; his son was some years after found strangled in his bed at Brussels, and so ended his race.—*Borlase's Reduction of Ireland.*

manner, as might introduce all the happy consequences of peace and cultivation; the experience of ages bears the most honourable testimony to the design; and Ireland must gratefully acknowledge, that here were the first foundations laid of its affluence and security." Such are the observations of an Irishman, after relating the calamities endured by the devoted people of the north, who were banished from their properties, and sacrificed to the ambition or the avarice of English adventurers.* The lapse of two hundred years has given to the north of Ireland the advantage of encouraged industry; but it is impossible, even at this distant period, not to contemplate, with the most indignant feelings, the infamous means by which the native Irish were plundered of their property and their privileges. James brought together his most celebrated counsellors, to advise with him on the new distribution and division of the confiscated lands of Ireland. Sir Arthur Chichester was the principal

* It has been said by some historians of the pale, that many of the catholic natives were permitted to settle on these plantations, and even to purchase some part of them; but it appears from the testimony of Sir Thomas Philips (an unquestionable authority in the estimation of the Anti-Irish historians), that "the fundamental ground of this plantation was the avoiding of natives, and the planting only with British." The O'Farrells of the county of Longford, in their remonstrance, November 10, 1641, set forth, that "the restraint of purchase in *the mere Irish*, of lands in the escheated counties, and the taint and blemish of them and their posterity, did more discontent then, than that plantation rule; for that they were brought to that extreme of poverty in these late times, that they must be sellers and not buyers of land." — *Borlase's Irish Rebellion.*

anatomist on this occasion, and, aided by the illustrious Lord Bacon, we find him recommending the Scotch and the English to the special favour of his sovereign. The Irish were to be particularly excepted from the list of those who were to be the future proprietors in the north of Ireland. The scheme adopted in the distribution of the lands of Ulster was different from that which had been acted upon by Elizabeth in Munster ; they were divided into different proportions, the greatest to consist of two thousand English acres, the least of one thousand, and the middle of fifteen hundred. The regulations by which James distributed the lands of Ireland among his English and Scotch subjects, were such as were calculated to give security and encouragement to the possessor. They were bound to build and to plant, they were to let their lands at determined rents, and for no less term than twenty-one years, or three lives, the tenants' houses to be built after the English fashion ; and, in all their customs and habits, they were obliged to assimilate as close as possible to those of the country from whence they came. The city of London took a leading part in the settlement of Ulster ; they accepted large grants in the county of Derry, they stipulated to expend twenty thousand pounds on the plantations, to build the cities of Derry and Coleraine, on the condition of enjoying such privileges as would insure them comfort and respectability. Care was taken by James that the clergy should be provided for, the churches rebuilt, and funds established for their preservation. Such was the foundation on which

the north of Ireland has risen to its present flourishing condition; and, as in other great revolutions, we no longer reflect on the sufferings of the ancient inhabitants, when contemplating the wealth and happiness of those who have succeeded them. The work of plantation was so prolific a source of aggrandizement to English adventurers, that the reader should not be surprised to see every expedient, which the confusion of past times could offer to avarice and to ambition, adopted to multiply new confiscations and new revolutions of property. In the turbulence of rebellion, lands were industriously concealed and detained from the crown; old records were explored, and such concealments were detected. The old possessors were obliged to abandon their lands, or to compound for their retention. Such services towards the British monarch, and such practices towards Ireland, obtained for Sir Arthur Chichester the lordship of Innishowen, the extensive territory of O'Dogherty. The pains and penalties of recusancy were inflicted with rigour, and the taking of the oath of supremacy was the essential and necessary qualification of every Irishman, who wished to enjoy either an office of honour or emolument. Without the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, the magistrate might be deprived of his commission, and the lawyer stripped of his robe. Mr Leland observes, "that the indolence and acquiescence to which the errors of popery reduce the mind, added to the shame of deserting their communion, seem to have kept back these men from any advances towards

conformity." We must confess we would rather attribute the obstinacy of the Irish gentlemen on this occasion, the magistrate, or the lawyer, to the conscientious sense of the obligations they owed to that religion which they were instructed to believe was the best. We should suppose that their obstinacy was the offspring of an honest conviction of the truth of the principle to which they clung, and not the base and interested progeny of pride, folly, or custom. If Mr Leland was to be deprived of his rights, because he refused acknowledging the supremacy of the pope, we should not consider it a very liberal conjecture that Mr Leland refused the oath from obstinacy rather than from principle. Such a feeling could never endure very long. In an individual, the pride of an insulted mind may be found to resist the united efforts of force and fraud ; but in the mind of a nation, the sentiment must have a broader foundation ; it must be the conviction of the truth of the principle to which it adheres, and not a passive obedience to custom or to fashion.

Chichester, having witnessed the progress of discontent with considerable apprehension for the security of his government, determined on convening a parliament. Twenty-seven years had elapsed since any parliament was held in this kingdom, in consequence of the extraordinary revolution which had taken place in the state and circumstances of Ireland. The new parliament promised to be a more faithful representative of all its mixed inhabitants than any which had hitherto preceded it.

Seventeen new counties, and a great number of newly created boroughs, were to be added to the general representation. The convening of this parliament, in 1612, alarmed the minds of the Irish. From the new arrangements, the creation of counties and boroughs, the influence of the government was supposed to be increased to an alarming extent. The Roman catholics suspected the integrity of Chichester's design in calling a parliament; and their principal leaders, men of distinguished consequence in the pale, Lords Gormanston, Slane, Killeen, Trimblestown, Dunsaney, and Louth, addressed a letter to the king, in which they boldly remonstrated against the calling of the parliament. This letter being considered by James as too bold in its language, was contumeliously rejected. The trade of parliament went on; the boroughs were multiplied to forty; the recusants, or, in other words, the independent Irish party, rallied their friends; the clergy co-operated in stimulating the people to a vigorous effort against farther innovations, and every hand and every heart were engaged in the grand contest for the rights and privileges of Irishmen. The catholic lawyers displayed unprecedented activity, and, notwithstanding the exertions of government, succeeded in beating their enemies at the majority of the elections.

Notwithstanding the apparent triumphs of the country, or catholic party, the government had so managed the old and the new boroughs, that, on counting the parliamentary numbers, there appeared one hundred and twenty-five protestants, and one

hundred and one catholics.* A contest of a singular nature took place on the appointment of the speaker. Sir John Davis, the Irish attorney-general, was recommended by James. Sir John Everard, a justice of the king's bench, was the favourite of the country party. The struggle was so violent, that the party of Sir John Davis seated him in the lap of Sir John Everard, who had been previously put by his friends into the speaker's chair. The violence of parties had now so highly inflamed the public mind, that Chichester felt it necessary to endeavour to calm the rising tempest by mild and conciliating remonstrance. The puritans, inflated

* About the 18th of May 1618, the lord deputy, with all the peers of the realm, and the clergy, both bishops and archbishops, attended in scarlet robes, very sumptuously, with sound of trumpet. The Lord David Barry, Viscount Buttevant, bearing the sword of state, and the Earl of Thomond bearing the cap of maintenance; and after all these the lord deputy followed, riding upon a most stately horse, very richly trapped; himself attired in a very rich and stately robe of purple velvet, which the king's majesty had sent him, having his train borne up by eight gentlemen of worth. They rode from the castle of Dublin to the cathedral church of St Patrick, to hear divine service, and a sermon preached by the reverend father in God Charles Hampton, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of all Ireland. But as many of the nobility were catholics, they did not go into the church; neither heard divine service or sermon, notwithstanding they were lords of the parliament house, but they staid without during the time of service and sermon. Now when service was done, the lord deputy returned back to the castle, these recusant lords joining themselves again with the rest of the state, and rode to the castle, in manner as they came from thence, where the parliament was held—this was the first day of its meeting.—Desider. Cuiros. Hiber. Vol. I.

with all the hideous spirit of sectarian despotism, murmured at the policy of the deputy, and, in the genuine language of the inquisition, called for the rigid enforcement of the penal statutes to establish an obedient conformity to their religion.

The shameful multiplication of the meanest and most mercenary sycophants, by the late creation of boroughs, roused the pride and the indignation of the catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland. It was, no doubt, a painful reflection to the independent Irish mind, to have witnessed the degraded and humbled state to which their countrymen were reduced. To see a whole catholic nation, a parliament, with the exception of the immediate hirelings of government, almost all catholic; the great majority of the army catholic: to see such a power as this lorded over by a few adventuring innovators from England and Scotland, who composed the administration and filled the offices of the crown, must have greatly afflicted the heart, and roused the vengeance of a high-spirited country. The catholics boldly remonstrated with James against the indignities under which they suffered. They ordered the lords Gormanston, Fermoy, Hussey, Luttrell, and Talbot, to repair to the British monarch, and to seek the immediate redress of such intolerable grievances. It is said that James received their complaints with good temper and kindness; he agreed that commissioners should be sent into Ireland, to ascertain the justice of the Irish remonstrance. Even such a concession as this from James elevated the hopes of the catho-

lics ; and one of their delegates, Sir James Gough, triumphantly announced, on his return to Ireland, the intention of the British monarch to tolerate the catholic religion, and redress the injuries of which his Irish subjects had complained. The hypocrisy of the king was not even now discovered by the Irish catholics ; the professions of a tolerant and liberal spirit, which James so often made to Ireland, appeared to be part of his system of division and weakness. He would raise the hopes of those he wished to destroy, and promise toleration to the religion of Ireland, in order that he might the more effectually eradicate it. He summoned the Irish delegates to his counsel, and in a tone of insulting and ignorant mockery, told them that no system of government would content the Irish. " You would," said James, " have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of Heaven." Notwithstanding the practices which we have detailed, and by which his Irish subjects were so insulted and oppressed, this monarch, in the stile and spirit of a despot, thus addressed the delegates of the Irish nation.

" In the matter of parliament, you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully, and your proceedings have been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment, which, by reason of your submission, I do forbear, but not remit till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament, where by your obedience to the deputy and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your past miscarriage, and then you

may deserve, not only pardon, but favour and cherishing."

The spirit of the country party could not be restrained by such language, even coming from the throne: and they continued the same uninterrupted opposition to every measure which trespassed on their religious or political liberty. The court and country party being nearly equal in numbers, began to see the injuries which must flow from the perpetual fire of mutual recrimination. The court ceased to practise on the feelings of the people by measures of violence, and the friends of the people gave up the rigid spirit of resistance to every recommendation of the crown. All parties now drew together in parliament, and agreed to recognise, by an express law, the king's title to the crown. They passed an act, in 1614, for the attainder of the Earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Sir Cahir O'Dogherty. The old and sanguinary statutes against the native Irish, by which those within the pale were permitted to treat their devoted countrymen as spies, were repealed; and all distinctions, between the native Irish and the colonists, completely done away. For these great and comprehensive blessings, the king's treasury was speedily enriched by the gratitude of his Irish subjects. James acknowledged the liberal contributions of Ireland to the public expenditure, and pledged himself to watch over her interests with indefatigable zeal.

The next subject of importance which occupied the Irish government, was the framing a public

confession of faith for the established church of Ireland. Dr James Usher, so distinguished for his learning and talents, was selected to perform this difficult undertaking. He drew up a profession, which consisted of no less than one hundred and four articles, some of which the British sovereign was known to have dissented from; but the rigid Calvinism of Usher would compromise with no authority. The success attendant upon the great northern plantation had now encouraged James to make a similar experiment in the southern countries. He determined, therefore, to send forth his agents of discovery, who would easily establish the royal claim to all the lands, which its avarice or its despotism might think proper to possess. The political inquisition soon discovered, that all that fine tract of country between the river of Arklow and that of Slaney, was the property of the Crown; that the counties of Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath, were either at a very early period vested in the British Crown, or forfeited by the rebellion of its inhabitants.

King James thus had to distribute among his English followers no less than four hundred thousand acres. It is not wonderful that the Irish, who were banished from their houses and their lands, whose families and whose property were thus sacrificed to the enlightened legislation of King James, should be hereafter found revenging themselves on the successors of those Englishmen who had raised fortunes on their ruins. It is not difficult to present to the imagination of the reader of sensibility,

the wide and dismal distress which the expulsion of the thousand families that covered such an extent of country, must have created. It is not difficult to conceive the heart-burnings it must have caused, and the unappeasable vengeance with which it must have filled the human bosom ; yet there are some men who will express surprise at the barbarous scenes of retaliation which we shall have to record. The man who reflects will see that they are the necessary effects of despotism, and the natural vent through which the abused and suffering heart ever looks for relief.

Sir Arthur Chichester was recalled to England before his last work of regeneration was complete. He was succeeded in his administration by Sir Oliver St John, whose conduct in parliament promised but little indulgence to the religion or conscience of Ireland. He banished the priests by proclamation ; an act of mercy, in the opinion of Mr Leland, to the poorer catholics, who were so intolerably oppressed by the clergy, an idle and factious tribe. It is strange with what fidelity the poorer catholics clung to such oppressors ; but Sir Oliver St John, whom the same historian panegyryzes for his vigour and his decision, does not stop here. He compells all magistrates to take the oath of supremacy. * The severity of such government

* All the counsellors at law that were in Ireland, who would not take the oath of supremacy, were put from pleading of causes in any of the four courts, or elsewhere, to speak for clients ; likewise such as were pensioners, that would not take the same oath, were discharged of their pensions.

called forth the remonstrances of the catholic continental powers, who were always alive to the sufferings of the Irish catholics, and whose power so often interposed to blunt the sword of persecution. Such interference had the effect of removing the English deputy, and thus rescuing the Irish from the fanatical violence of a sanguinary sectarian. The Irish people had flattered themselves, that the consequence of removing Sir Oliver St John, would have been an indulgence to their religious feelings, and that an adherence to the practice of their church, would be no longer considered incompatible with the sincerest loyalty. They therefore openly attended the duties which their religion prescribed. The reformed clergy took the alarm, and the war of intolerance commenced with increased acrimony. Doctor Usher, who was considered the head of the reformers, first drew the polemical sword ; and in a sermon, the text of which was, " he beareth not the sword in vain," he inculcated on the existing government, the necessity of strong and vigorous measures to suppress the rising confidence of the catholics.

Mr Leland, who loses no opportunity of abusing the motives and principles of his countrymen, brands the fidelity of the Irish to the religion of their ancestors, with the humiliating stigma of ignorance, obstinacy, barbarism ; an unworthy and cruel commentary on the most unexampled allegiance to those principles, which they were taught to believe were the best calculated to ensure them eternal salvation. The criminations and recrimi-

nations of all religious sectarians, equally excite the scorn and contempt of the philosopher. The liberal and enlightened mind will have equal reverence for the opinions and principles of one sect as of another, and will endeavour to demonstrate that the true Christian, whether protestant, presbyterian, or catholic, will be best fulfilling its duties, when he inculcates the toleration of all, undisturbed by the insulting imputations of folly, of ignorance, or of superstition. No sect of Christianity teaches immorality; no sect of Christianity professes doctrines which would not make its follower a valuable member of society; therefore, let each indulge the other, and the human mind, unrestrained by the bigot, will soon resume its strength, and throw off the oppressive incumbrance of accumulated prejudices. The scene of calamity which Ireland exhibited in 1622, and which was principally caused by the merciless prosecution of the discoveries of defective titles, is acknowledged by Mr Leland, who has so often been the panegyriker of the plantation system of James, as the infallible mode of civilizing the barbarous inhabitants of Ireland. Never has any nation so dearly purchased the blessings of civilization.

In the manuscripts of Bishop Sterne, we find, that in the small county of Longford, twenty-five of one sept were all deprived of their estates, without the least compensation, or any means of subsistence assigned them. Let the reader, (when he comes to those periods of our history in which the collected vengeance of many years of suffering,

was poured forth on the unoffending descendants of those men who took part in the legal butchery of the dearest affections of the human heart), keep in his recollection the picture we shall now give, drawn by the vindicator of the colonizers, of the agonizing distress, and the torturing despotism to which the Irish nation, under the specious pretext of civilization, were barbarously devoted.

Mr Leland, speaking of this period, observes, " it was an age of project and adventure; men's minds were particularly possessed with a passion for new discoveries, and planting of countries. They who were too poor, or too spiritless to engage in distant adventures, courted fortune in Ireland, under the pretence of improving the king's revenue, in a country where it was far less than the charge of government. They obtained commissions of inquiry into defective titles, and grants of concealed lands, and rents belonging to the crown, the great benefit of which was generally to accrue to the projector, whilst the king was contented with an inconsiderable proportion of the concealment, or a small advance of rent. Discoverers were every where busily employed in finding out flaws in men's titles to their estates. The old pipe rolls were searched to find original rents with which they had been charged; the patent rolls in the tower of London were ransacked for the ancient grants: no means of industry or devices of craft were left untried, to force the possessors to accept of new grants at an advanced rent. In the enforcement of those inquiries, there are not wanting proofs of the most iniquitous practices of hard-

ened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation, employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance." But the sufferings of Irishmen did not stop there; "they either lay under odious disqualifications, or were neglected by the state in the disposal of offices of trust and emolument; they were overshadowed by new men sent from England to the king's service, whom they saw, with indignation, rising suddenly into affluence;" and the historian might have added, with honest indignation, rising into that affluence on the beggary and calamity of the native Irish.

The poverty of the Irish government was the necessary consequence of that system of rapacity and plunder, which was carried on by every unprincipled English adventurer, under its immediate patronage. Notwithstanding all James's boasted improvements, his regulations of civilization and refinement, the resources of his exchequer were daily diminishing, and the necessity of new financial expedients as rapidly increasing. Various plans of regeneration were adopted; and various artifices, as dishonest and immoral as they were shallow and unwise, were resorted to, to recruit the almost bankrupt government of the colony; the ingenuity of legal advisers was exercised in vain. It is true, a partial supply was eviscerated from the fears of the inhabitants of Connaught, whose lands were threatened to be sacrificed to a contemptible quibble of the law. Their titles to their property were pronounced defective, because the patents, under which they held their lands, happened not to be enrolled in

the proper office. This was, in the opinion of the English monarch, a sufficient justification of that revolution which he contemplated with so much enthusiasm, and by which the calamities of the Ulster plantation would have been visited upon the inhabitants of Connaught. The pressing wants of James, however, protected the Irish from this favourite experiment of plantation; and a composition of ten thousand pounds was accepted by him from the trembling landholders of Connaught. Were we to draw any parallel between the sanguinary government of Elizabeth, with the cold and unfeeling tyranny of James, we should be inclined to think, that the quantity of suffering inflicted on Ireland by the sword of the one, was less cruel than the merciless statute war of the other; that the victories of Mountjoy over Tyrone and his followers, were of a more exalted, and, of course, a more consoling nature, than the treacherous and cowardly schemes of destruction planned by the legal sophist, and acted upon by the insatiable avarice of royal rapacity. The government of Elizabeth put an end to its victim; that of James preserved it, in order to prolong its pains and triumph in its agonies. Under the mask of introducing the law and customs of a civilized and enlightened people, every species of oppression was practised; and Ireland, which could, under a mild and parental system, have enriched the hand that protected it, punished her persecutors by the incumbrance of her poverty, and the unappeasable hostility of her children.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHARLES I.

A. D. **THE** people of Ireland now promised themselves some relaxation of that severe and rigid system, under which they had hitherto suffered. They calculated on the acknowledged necessities of Charles; his foreign wars, his conflicts with his parliament, his obvious policy in soothing the catholics of Ireland, whose power he might throw into the scale against the stubborn resistance of his puritanical subjects of England. Such considerations raised the hopes of the Irish, and, in an equal proportion, excited the apprehension of the colonists. The latter applied to Charles to increase his Irish army to five thousand foot and five hundred horse. So low was the king's exchequer in Ireland, that Charles was obliged to quarter this army on the different counties and towns. This irresistible evidence of the royal embarrass-

ments encouraged the Irish to hope for a full toleration of their religion, and a suspension of those penal statutes, by which their feelings and properties were so injured. With their brethren in England, they offered to contribute liberally to the support of Charles' government, if they would, in return, enjoy the royal protection in the exercise of their religion.

Mr Leland, speaking of the joy with which the Irish catholic contemplated the prospect of future indulgence to his long persecuted conscience, observes, with apparent approbation, "that the protestant clergy were provoked at their insolence, and scandalized at the promised concessions of government;" and the same historian triumphantly sets forth the anathema of the established colonial church, as an evidence of the pure and sacred zeal of the leading prelates of this period. We doubt much whether the records of popery can produce any document more furious in its intolerance, or more despicable in its bigotry. Those who deprecate the uncharitable principles of an exclusive doctrine, will, with indignation, read the following protest of the protestant bishops of the colony, against even the toleration of the catholic religion. They will discover the illiberality of every Christian sect which can wield the political power of the state; and they will see that the protestant, presbyterian, and catholic, are equally inclined to trample upon the rights of conscience, if the government shall lend them their authority, or give them their coun-

tenance.* “The religion of the papists,” say the Irish protestant archbishops and bishops of the seventeenth century, “is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects: for, first, it is to make ourselves accessary not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and, in a word, to all the abominations of popery, but also (which is a consequence of the former), to the perdition of the seduced people, who perish in the deluge of the catholic apostacy; secondly, to grant them a toleration in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale; and with it the souls of the people whom Christ hath redeemed with his blood; and as it is a great sin, so it is also a matter of most dangerous consequence; the consideration whereof we commit to the wise and judicious, beseeching the God of truth to make them who are in authority zealous of God’s glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute, and

* The unbending bigotry of the protestant bishops and archbishops of Ireland, at this period, forms a curious contrast with the enlightened liberality which distinguished the catholic government of France under the administration of the great Richelieu. Mr Hume, in his reign of Charles I. says, “that a toleration was continued to the Hugonots after the taking of Rochelle; the only avowed and open toleration,” says Mr Hume, “which at that time was granted in any European kingdom.”

courageous, against all popery, superstition and idolatry."

We challenge the records of superstition to produce a higher specimen of fanaticism than that which we have just quoted ; it demonstrates how easily all sects of Christianity can recriminate on each other, and how vain the controversy which attributes to the doctrines of popery a more malignant spirit of intolerance than to those of any other Christian denomination. The followers of Christianity, in the nineteenth century, laugh at the fanaticism of their ancestors, and all classes of Christians adhere to the faith of their fathers, undisturbed by the insolence of sectarian ascendancy. The distress of Charles counterbalanced the prayers of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, and for a contribution of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, payable in three years, the British monarch promised to redress the grievances of which his Irish subjects so loudly and justly complained. We have said that Charles promised to redress their grievances, because our readers will find that the instructions communicated to his deputy in Ireland, were never confirmed by an act of the legislature, and that the immoderate wants of the king forced him to hold out hopes to his Irish subjects, as the price of that aid which their generous credulity had never yet hesitated to contribute. The graces to be conferred were therefore of the most substantial kind. The properties of the Irish were no more to be disturbed, the insulting condition of the oaths of supremacy and abjuration no longer to be en-

forced, as the necessary qualification for office ; the oppressions of the soldiery were to be restrained, and justice was to be impartially administered to all denominations of Irishmen. These promises of protection were soon forgotten, the respite of the Irish people from the persecution of fanaticism was of very short duration ; for we find soon after, a well authenticated account of a most wanton and atrocious violence on the unoffending catholic, at the moment he was engaged in the adoration of his Creator, according to the form and ceremonies of his own religion. Hammon Lestrange, one of the English adventurers who came over to Ireland to insult the nation he assisted in plundering, thus speaks of the Roman catholic clergy in the early part of his reign of Charles I.—“ In this year the Roman clergy began to rant it, and to exercise their fancies, called religion, as publicly as if they had gained a toleration.” “ The reader,” says the honest and well informed Dr Curry, “ will be surprised to find that this ranting of the catholic clergy was nothing more than their reading of prayers quietly to their people in one of their own chapels.” “ For,” proceeds the above mentioned author, Hammon Lestrange, “ while the lords justices were at Christ Church in Dublin, on St Stephen’s day, the clergy were celebrating mass in Cook-street, which their lordships taking notice of, they sent the archbishop of Dublin, the mayor, sheriffs, and recorder of the city, with a file of musketeers, to apprehend them, which they did, taking away the crucifixes and ornaments of the altar, the soldiers hewing

down the image of St Francis. The priests and friars were delivered into the hands of the pursuivants, at whom the people threw stones, and rescued them. The lords justices being informed of this, sent a guard and delivered them, and clapped eight popish aldermen by the heels for not assisting their mayor. On this account fifteen houses (chapels), by direction of the lords of the council in England, were seized to the king's use, and the priests and friars were so persecuted, that two of them," adds my liberal and enlightened author, "*hanged themselves in their own defence.*" This single fact, which never was disputed, would almost vindicate the catholics of Ireland in the commission of any violence to destroy such atrocious despotism. Few, I believe, will wonder that the populace endeavoured to rescue their priests in such an exigency; and fewer that the catholic aldermen of Dublin did not assist their mayor in this priest-catching business. This persecution was afterwards extended all over the kingdom.

The English council acquainted the justices of Ireland on this memorable occasion, "that his majesty was pleased openly and in the most gracious manner to approve and commend their ability and good service, whereby they might be sufficiently encouraged to go on with the like resolution and moderation till the work was fully done, as well in the city as in other places of the kingdom, leaving to their discretion when and where to carry a soft and tender hand;" yet Lord Clarendon, in the front of these facts, has the boldness to state,

“ that during all this, and the former reign, the catholics of Ireland enjoyed an undisturbed exercise of their religion ; and that even in Dublin, where the seat of the king’s chief governor was, they went as publicly and uninterruptedly to their devotions as he went to his.” It is to such authorities as Lord Clarendon may be attributed all that ignorance which Englishmen discover of the real causes of the cruel vengeance which the Irish were driven to take against their oppressors. No people are to be found in the records of history who have manifested so much patience under so much suffering, nor can any nation produce such a crowd of such exasperating causes to justify the furious excesses of their vengeance. They had to contend with the hypocrisy and avarice of unprincipled monarchs, and the blind and ignorant fanaticism of the creatures of their power.

Their loyalty and fidelity were rewarded with perpetual insult and injury, and the evidence of their attachment to the state was often the cause of new expedients to plunder, to harass, and exasperate.

The graces promised by Lord Falkland, and which amounted to an acknowledgment of the rights of the Irish, had the effect of producing a cheerful submission to the contribution so much wanted by Charles. We shall find, in the course of this reign, that to the distress of the monarch may be attributed whatever indulgence the catholics experienced ; and that the necessity of counteracting the power of the English puritans, com-

pelled the ministers of Charles to conciliate the affections of a people, whose feelings and whose religion they would otherwise have persecuted. The instructions, therefore, to Lord Falkland, recommended a mild and parental exercise of authority. The religious worship of the catholics was once more celebrated with all due solemnity, and, as Mr Leland is pleased to describe, "with the full parade of their ostentatious ritual." The toleration now experienced by the catholics gave the greatest displeasure to the established church, and so excited the apprehensions of the council of the colony, that they prevailed on Falkland to depart from that moderate and indulgent course which he was pursuing, and to issue a proclamation, preventing the presumptuous exercise of all papist rites and ceremonies. This proclamation not being in accordance with the policy of the English cabinet, became a dead letter, and the catholics followed their religion without interruption. Those partial triumphs over a bigotted monopoly could not fail of developing the weakness of their ancient enemy, the cabinet of England. They therefore pressed on this weakened power the necessity of making further concessions to the people, of diminishing the unsufferable burdens under which they laboured, of ceasing to institute vexatious and torturing inquisitions into the titles of their estates. The Irish government struck to the murmurs of the people, and one half the stipulated contribution was accepted as the condition of future tranquillity.

Lord Falkland's administration, in consequence of this defalcation of the royal resources, soon incurred the charge of imbecility. He was recalled in 1630, and two lords justices, Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and Richard, Earl of Cork, lord high treasurer, were nominated to succeed Lord Falkland in the administration of Ireland. These men were remarkable for their antipathy to every thing Irish, and their superstitious abhorrence of the catholic religion. Mr Leland bestows extravagant praise on the Earl of Cork, for the assiduity and zeal with which he executed his scheme of banishing the native Irish from their properties in the county of Wicklow, and substituting, as Mr Leland observes, " a numerous, well-regulated, and well-defended body of English protestants." The errors of popery were peculiarly offensive to this active partizan of England ; and the barbarism which it promoted, was repugnant to his benevolent principles of civilization. This compliment to the character of the Earl of Cork is peculiarly ludicrous, when following the historical fact, that this same colonist banished the Irish from the lands of their forefathers, and thus most effectually created the barbarism he pretended to abhor. The same spirit which distinguished him in his private station, characterized his public acts, and the catholics were doomed to experience the extreme rigors of his intolerant bigotry. Charles, however, interfered, and suspended the sword of persecution. The wants of the king were hourly multiplying, and the necessity of adopting such measures as

would procure an effectual supply from his dominions in Ireland, determined him to commit its administration to a nobleman whose vigour and abilities would compromise with no difficulties, and listen to no remonstrance. The lords justices, whom Wentworth was about to succeed, were incapable of concurring or acting upon any great and comprehensive measure of finance. The resources of their minds were as limited as the hostility of the people to their government was determined; they could enforce the regulations of the bigot with a pious ardour; they could impose penalties upon conscience; but they could not suggest any scheme of resources, which, from its universality, could administer solid or substantial relief to the exhausted treasury of Charles. The king suspected that the lords justices had secret and disloyal practices with his protestant enemies of England; and though well inclined to exercise the most relentless tyranny over the devoted catholics, yet the hopes of forcing Charles, by their co-operation with the English parliament, to strike to their demands, slackened their zeal in the enforcement of those contributions which they might otherwise have obtained.

Lord Wentworth was ordered by his master to assume the reins of government in Ireland; and though this famed and eloquent nobleman was pursued to the block by the partizans of English liberty, yet the poor people of Ireland experienced, during his administration in Ireland, the grateful consolation of witnessing the humiliation of their most inveterate enemies. "One great and favour-

ite scheme of Wentworth," says Mr Leland, "was to break the power of the great lords, which had frequently been applied to the worst of purposes." He therefore determined to reduce their power, as well as that of the puritans, (the bitterest enemies of the catholics.) On his first interview with the council in 1634, he treated the most exalted characters of the colony with the most insulting arrogance. He would listen to no remonstrance from them against any measure he thought contributed to promote the interests of Charles; he told them he sought their obedience to his will, not any suggestions from their council, and that without any aid from them he would procure the supplies necessary for the support of his government. He told them that he would recommend his majesty to accede to the measure of calling a meeting of parliament, if they would agree to renew their contributions for one year: the contributions were granted, and an army, formidable in numbers and in discipline, was raised under the active genius of the deputy.

The despotic disposition of Charles is singularly marked in his reply to Wentworth's communication, respecting the meeting of his Irish parliament; and his faithless and unprincipled anxiety to violate his promise to the Irish, to confirm the royal graces by act of the legislature, clearly points out the wisdom of that jealousy which distinguished the English parliament, and which never suffered them to place any confidence in the royal word. Charles writes thus to his deputy, Lord Wentworth: "As for that hydra, a parliament, take good heed, for

you know that there have I found it as well cunning as malicious ; it is true, that your grounds are well laid, and I assure you that I have great trust in your care and judgment ; yet my opinion is, that it will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you break them, for I fear that they have some ground to demand more than it is fit for me to give."

The king conquered his scruples, and trusted implicitly to the zeal and talent of his deputy in the management of the Irish parliament. Wentworth went to work with all the skill of a practical statesman. He made the hopes and fears of each party, the puritan, the church man, and the catholic, tributary to his purposes. He promised protection to the catholic, against the persecution of the puritan, and made the disposition of the latter to inflict pains and penalties, the argument by which he reasoned them into a submission to his purposes. He so managed that the house of commons should be composed of papists and protestants, equally balanced in numbers and property ; he refused, as was customary, to consult with the lords of the pale before parliament assembled ; he told them their duty was submission to the will of the king. "The king," said Wentworth to the assembled lords of the pale, "desires this great work may be settled by parliament ; as a faithful servant to his majesty, I shall counsel him to attempt it first by the ordinary means. —Disappointed there, where he may with so much right expect it, I could not, in a cause so just and necessary, deny to appear for him at the head of my

army, and there either persuade them fully that his majesty had reason on his side, or die in the pursuit of his commands so justly laid upon me." The people smiled at the humiliation of their taskmasters; the lords trembled and submitted to the deputy; they passed from the impotent tone of dictation, to the cringing sycophancy of the slave, and complied with any measure recommended by the avarice or ambition of Wentworth.

The house of lords were not quite so passive to the proud and domineering spirit of Wentworth. The Earl of Ormond resisted the insolent attempt made by an Englishman to prostrate the ancient nobility of Ireland; he refused to strike to the indelible indignity of being stripped of his sword at the door of the house of lords; he repelled the humiliating experiment with a spirit worthy of his high and exalted family, and forced Wentworth to yield to the insulted honour of an Irish nobleman. Wentworth soothed the hand he could not degrade; he took Ormond to his councils, who, at the age of twenty-four, was the confidential favourite of the deputy.

Parliament proceeded to the enactment of a number of laws, which were well calculated to promote the tranquillity of the kingdom. Among those, was one for abolishing all distinctions between the original natives and other subjects; another for adopting the most valuable of the English statutes, passed since the reign of Henry VII. As a perfect conformity to the established church, was the leading feature of Wentworth's policy; he ju-

diciously adopted such measures as were calculated to promote its success ; he built churches, and provided them with ministers, throughout the kingdom ; he was particularly attentive to the education and instruction of the clergy of the established church. His next object was the complete assimilation of the churches of England and Ireland, by establishing the English articles and canons in this latter kingdom, as the rule of doctrine and discipline. The Irish articles of religion, as compiled by Usher, were doomed to give way to those of the church of England. So great was the ascendancy of Wentworth in the convocation, that only one of its members had the spirit to resist the innovation he recommended. The deputy then proceeded to the appointment of an high commission court, formed on the model of England, with the view of being instrumental to the acquisition of more revenues to the government. Whenever he saw the opportunity of promoting the interests of Charles, he seized it with ardour ; and, to promote that interest, would not stop at the sacrifice of the industry as well as the blood of the Irish.

To Lord Wentworth is Ireland indebted for the destruction of her woolen manufacture ; which, as Mr Leland says, “ promised to increase, and might in time essentially affect the staple commodity of England.” Ireland furnished wool in great quantities, and its people could afford to vend their cloth in foreign markets on more moderate terms than the English trader. Such a prospect alarmed the loyal zeal of Wentworth, who did not long hesitate

to impose such discouragements on the woollen manufacture, as amounted almost to a complete annihilation. Wentworth, though anxious to discourage every species of industry in Ireland, which might, by possibility, clash with the interests of England, was not inattentive to the cultivation of a manufacture, which, without injury to England, might be of solid and essential service to Ireland. Wentworth himself states, in one of his letters, that he expended thirty thousand pounds in the favourite project of the establishment of the linen manufacture. He brought the flax-seed and the manufacturers from Holland, and made such regulations as laid the strong and immovable foundation of that prosperity which has distinguished this great source of wealth and comfort to Ireland. Wentworth, in 1635, proceeded to the most summary mode of replenishing the coffers of his royal master, by the wholesale robbery of his Irish subjects : he was aware of the advantages obtained by his two predecessors in the adoption of a similar scheme. One of them, Sir Arthur Chichester, had lands bestowed upon him, which, in the year 1633, were of no less than ten thousand pounds yearly value, and the other obtained ten thousand pounds in one gift. Hoping, therefore, for the like or greater retribution, his lordship exerted himself in that business with uncommon assiduity and vigour. He procured inquisitions, upon feigned titles to estates, against many hundred years' possession. He proceeded to the western and north western counties with his commission, and the mock inquiry into the

validity of the royal title was immediately intituted. So violent a procedure roused the almost extinguished spirit of the people ; and the county Galway resisted the king's title, and boldly combated the sophistry of fraud and robbery. The lawyers, who, Mr Leland says, were catholics, fearlessly exposed the infamy of the proceeding, and the unprincipled violation of the property of the subject. The jury stood between the people and the despotism of Wentworth, and so incurred the vengeance of that haughty lord, that he laid a fine of one thousand pounds upon the sheriff, brought the jurors before the castle chamber, and fined them each in the sum of four thousand pounds, sentenced them to imprisonment until it should be paid, and to acknowledge their offence in court, upon their knees : a sad and humiliating instance of the prostrate spirit of Ireland, and a lesson of most important instruction to the Irish nobility and gentry, never to lend themselves to measures which are calculated to weaken their best and most efficient support, the Irish population. The Irish lords unthinkingly co-operated with Wentworth in his struggles to break the spirit of the people ; and the latter enjoyed their full measure of vengeance, in seeing those same nobles of the land trampled on in their turn. They thus disarmed the only hand which could have best defended them against the insolence of power.

The administration of Wentworth was so peculiarly obnoxious, that his warmest friends in England remonstrated with the imprudence of his zeal :

his enemies, who were numerous, triumphed in the folly of his violence, and carefully noted down the unparalleled excesses of his government. So confident was Wentworth of the favour of his royal master, that he went to London to confute the complaints of his enemies. Charles was deaf to the cries of the persecuted and insulted people of Ireland, and warmly embraced the hand which had been so often the instrument of their sufferings. Wentworth boldly set forth his services in the presence of the king and council, and insisted upon the necessity of those measures of vigour for which his enemies had reproached him. Charles gratefully acknowledged the services which Wentworth had rendered him, and called on him to persevere in the pious and profitable work of plundering and insulting his Irish subjects. It is peculiarly mortifying to read, that the very acts for which Wentworth should have lost his head, were those on the successful execution of which this despotic monarch had the hardihood to praise him. The banishment of entire families from the habitations of their fathers is considered a judicious and fruitful measure of finance; for instance, the establishment of the king's title to the ample possession of the O'Byrnes in Wicklow, produced the large sum of fifteen thousand pounds, and the persecution of the most exalted individuals in the country was often suspended by the interposition of a bribe, or the voluntary humiliation of the victim.

The catholics of Ireland, though subject to the same capricious exercise of power as the protest-

ants, found refuge at this period in that very despotism which insulted and plundered their protestant countrymen. They did not now writhe under the lash of intolerance. Though Wentworth was a tyrant, he was impartial in the exercise of his power; and the feelings of the people found some consolation in the reflection, that they were no longer the selected victims of the bigot, and that the calamity was at least as common as it was severe. Such a system produced the effects that must naturally be expected. The discontents produced by intolerance were no longer convulsing the country, and peace, order, and industry, distinguished the present period from that of any former administration; the value of lands was increased, commerce extended, the customs amounted to almost four times their former sum; the commodities exported from Ireland were twice as much in value as the foreign merchandize imported, and shipping was found to have increased one hundred fold. Such were the fruits of an administration at once distinguished by its political power and its religious tolerance, while it chained to the earth the proudest spirits of the land. It also restrained the destructive demon of fanaticism; and, from policy, not from principle, suffered every Irishman to pray in the religion and in the language followed and adopted by his forefathers. It was not the good fortune of the people of Scotland to enjoy the same tolerant administration which a concurrence of circumstances procured for the catholics of Ireland. The interests of Charles did not allow

him to make the experiments on the conscientious feelings of his Irish subjects which he was now (1680,) practising on those of his subjects of Scotland.

The fanaticism which urged the king to compel a conformity to the established religion, equally animated the bosoms of the Scotch to repel the violence of his efforts ; and his proclamation, promising pardon, while it acknowledged weakness, only produced that celebrated covenant, which bound together the hitherto discordant materials of insurrection and rebellion. The puritans of the north of Ireland participated in the enthusiasm of their brethren in Scotland, and Wentworth had recourse to all the expedients of oaths and obligations to secure their allegiance to their sovereign. The difficulties of Charles had so rapidly thickened around him, and the hostility of his Scotch subjects was so inveterate and deep-rooted, that he was obliged to call to his council the only man whom he conceived best calculated to confront his enemies. Sir Thomas Wentworth was commanded to repair to England, where he was immediately advanced to the dignity of an earl, by the title of Strafford, and also created a knight of the garter. Wentworth was thus raised to the highest place in the administration of the country, and at a period when the public mind ran into the extremes of party spirit. It is not surprising, that the new Earl of Strafford should have incurred the most malignant and unappeasable vengeance of the king's enemies. He recommended a vigorous prosecution of the war against the Scotch,

as he found they could not be conciliated. The catholics of England contributed with ardour to strengthen the arm of the king ; and Strafford, with all that decision which distinguished him, set off for Ireland, where he found the Irish parliament anxious to exceed even the expectations of their sovereign, and pressing forward with enthusiastic loyalty to defend him against his enemies. They profusely poured forth the supplies, and recorded, as an ordinance of the Irish legislature, that, as the kingdom had the happiness to be governed by the best of kings, so they were desirous to be accounted the best of subjects. Lords and commons joined in zealous expressions of attachment to Charles, and in a short time an army of 8000 foot and 1000 horse marched to Carrickfergus, from whence they were to proceed against the rebels of Scotland. This large force was officered by protestants : but, as Mr Leland observes, the soldiers were necessarily catholics ; a circumstance highly injurious to Charles, who had to contend with the inflexible bigotry of the puritans. A new spirit now broke out in the Irish parliament. The puritanical party of the assembly was not inconsiderable ; and the intrigues of the king's English enemies had succeeded in turning the tide which flowed so strongly in favour of Charles. They grew cold, and suspicious and complaining ; they remonstrated against the weight of taxation, and repented of their late precipitate kindness. They put forth their grievances in all the strong and vigorous language of the English parliament, and

seemed anxious to walk in the same path which had been marked out by that spirited and able assembly. They remonstrated against the abuse of the church, the corrupt traffic of their duties, their extortions for marriages, christenings, and mortuaries,—they complained of the hardships they suffered by the practice of levying the assessments, and insisted that a more moderate and constitutional course shall hereafter be adopted. So formidable and unexpected a spirit of resistance to the wishes of the crown excited the alarms of Charles. He selected Strafford as the man best qualified to restrain it. He made him captain-general of the Irish forces, and vested him with full powers to march them into Scotland. The death of the Earl of Nottingham interrupted this arrangement, and Strafford was detained to act in conjunction with his sovereign. The Irish parliament now emulated all the violence of the parliament of England, and in their denunciations of Strafford, exhibited the same disposition to thwart and defeat all the measures of their sovereign. Those very laws for which posterity are indebted to this unfortunate nobleman, were now a subject of public complaint; such as the laws which forbade ploughing by the tail, burning corn in the straw, or tearing wool from the living sheep. Confident in their strength, the Irish commons proceeded to regulate the rate of the assessments; they resolved that no subject should be taxed for more than a tenth part of his estate, real or personal. The supplies, but a few months granted with such lavish liberality,

were thus reduced by the more severe and inflexible spirit of democracy, which directed the house of commons; and the king was so exasperated by the hollow professions of zeal which accompanied the contracted aid, that it is said he ordered the leaf to be torn from their journal, which contained their hypocritical resolutions.

The Irish commons were not to be intimidated by this thoughtless impatience of Charles. They were well aware of the growing strength of his enemies, and they now triumphed in the anticipation of sacrificing the haughty and imperious Strafford to the wounded pride of the Irish noblemen, whose consequence and weight in their country he had succeeded so well in humiliating. They co-operated with his English enemies to expose the violence of his Irish administration; to exaggerate his errors, and multiply his crimes. They furnished the materials of a remonstrance, which was presented to the English parliament, in which accusations were made, that might have easily been defended, and in which acts were denominated crimes, for which Strafford obtained their unqualified approbation. Those measures which the necessity of the times might have palliated, were now termed acts of intolerable despotism; and that very assembly which was so lately panegyrising the vigour of their governor, were now calling him to the bar of his country, for a wanton violation of public liberty, and a grievous exercise of royal authority. The Irish parliament appointed a committee to repair to the king with their remonstrance against Strafford,

Their arrival in London was hailed by the popular party; Mr Prynne, and Sir John Clotworthy, both members of the English parliament, moved for a committee of the commons, to take into consideration the grievances of Ireland. The Irish deputies preferred laying their remonstrance before the committee, to submitting their grievances to Charles. Strafford, contrary to the admonition of his friends, confronted his enemies; he was impeached, sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody; he miscalculated either the power or the sincerity of the king; he now lay at the mercy of his powerful and inveterate enemies.

Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, two puritan lords justices, without abilities or character, were appointed to the government of Ireland. These men were not more remarkable for their fanatical virulence, than they were for the meanness of their understandings; and we shall hereafter find every act of their administration marked with those features which distinguished the character of the governors.

The English and Irish committees went on in their work of reformation, and the spirit of Charles was at last obliged to bow to the dictation of his subjects. They rose in their demands as Charles conceded; and the royal power, which was accustomed to treat with contempt the respectful petitions of the people, was now crouching to their threats, and struggling to conciliate, by a liberal admission of their demands. The Irish were not satisfied with the mere granting the prayer of their

remonstrance ; they aspired still higher, and, like their neighbours, they seized this opportunity which the king's embarrassments afforded, to extend their own power, and advance the public interests. They carefully examined into various instances of illegal practices during the administration of Strafford, and severely censured every deviation from the strict line of constitutional liberty. They submitted to the judges in 1640, a number of questions relative to the power and authority of the chief governor and privy council, in hearing and determining civil causes ; the legality of monopolies, and of the punishments inflicted on those who infringed them ; the legal force of proclamations or acts of state ; the execution of martial law in time of peace ; the jurisdiction of the exchequer, castle chamber, and other courts ; the censures and severe punishments of jurors. All those grievances were laid before the judges of the land, to ascertain the legitimate powers of the government. The spirit of reform which thus distinguished the commons, was not equally conspicuous in the lords, and the friends of the royal prerogative adopted every expedient by which they could blunt the keen edge of popular intemperance. The Earl of Ormond was attached to Lord Strafford, and he prevailed on the lords to delay the answers of the judges to the queries of the commons for some months. The commons were offended at the coldness of the lords, and immediately transmitted their queries to their committee in England, ordering the latter to lay their grievances before the

English parliament, and to pray that parliament do declare the law in several particulars contained in those queries.

The Irish parliament then proceeded to the impeachment of the most distinguished partizans of Strafford ; they impeached Sir Richard Bolton, the chancellor ; Dr Bramhal, the bishop of Derry ; Sir Gerard Lowther, chief justice of the common pleas ; and Sir George Radcliffe. They charged them with exercising an illegal and tryannical government in Ireland, in conjunction with Strafford ; that they assumed a regal power over the properties, persons, and liberties of the subjects ; pronounced unjust decrees and extrajudicial opinions ; that they subverted the rights of parliament, and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings. The Irish lords were little inclined to yield to the violence of the commons ; they started objections of delay and difficulty ; they denied the power of sequestrating, and committing the speaker of the lords ; they insisted that it was sufficient that their house was answerable for the forthcoming of the chancellor, and that the latter could not be committed as long as he was suffered by the sovereign to hold the seals. This contest between the two houses was, after much discussion, suspended by a prorogation. In the interim the enemies of Strafford hurried on his trial in England, and the act of attainder passed against this unhappy lord. The consequences of these struggles between the Irish parliament and the king, were peculiarly visible in the pure administration of justice, and the extinc-

tion of the oppressive jurisdictions of the high commission courts, which sacrificed the rights and the properties of the subject. The judges in the law courts no longer decided against the law of the land ; the people were respected, and the powers of the crown restrained within legal and constitutional limits. Charles being hard pressed by his present difficulties, unable to extend his protection even to the most zealous of his servants, sought refuge in conceding to that prayer which he no longer had the power to refuse. He agreed to redress the grievances contained in the remonstrance of the Irish parliament, and to surrender those powers which his predecessors had exercised with impunity. The concessions obtained on this occasion, by the indefatigable spirit of parliament, are worthy of record ; because, in a brief and comprehensive sentence, they exhibit the rapid strides made by popular spirit, and the low degree of humiliation to which a monarch, almost unlimited in power, was reduced in the short space of a few months. Charles was obliged to consent that the assessment of the nobility should be moderated ; he agreed to confirm their rights and privileges by act of parliament ; to deprive those peers of their votes who should not purchase estates in Ireland ; to allow all his Irish subjects to repair to any part of his dominions without restraint ; to prohibit the chief governors and privy council from deciding property or avoiding letters patent ; to revoke monopolies ; to suspend the high commission court, and to regulate the claims and the councils of the

clergy. Thus are the liberties of the people the offspring of royal embarrassment, and the same power which tramples with insolence on the rights and feelings of humanity, is always seen in every country to yield, with cowardly precipitance, to the well directed resistance of the public mind. The administration of Lord Strafford strained the royal prerogative to its utmost limits. The times in which he lived gave birth to a new spirit of reformation in religion as well as in politics, and the oscillating disposition of Charles gave confidence to his enemies, while it discouraged the efforts of his friends. Neither he nor his advisers possessed sufficient judgment to direct the vessel of the state in so unprecedented a storm ; his religious bigotry inflamed the hostility of the puritan, and his undecided, and sometimes insincere protection, shook the confidence of the catholics.

Notwithstanding the spirit of conciliation manifested by Charles towards his Irish parliament, the latter did not merely rely on the promises of their sovereign for the possession of those constitutional rights which they so firmly asserted. Nothing less than a legislative declaration of their right to the claims which they demanded, would satisfy those suspicious and stern defenders of public liberty. They determined to be no longer depending on the will of the king for the enjoyment of the equal and impartial dispensation of justice, and proceeded to mark out and prescribe the exact limits of his authority, out of which *even he* could not legally travel. The session of the succeeding year (1641)

echoed the spirit of that which preceded it, and the celebrated queries which were put to the judges, and by which the constitutional rights of the subject could be clearly ascertained, were resumed, with increased ardour, by the partizans of the people. The judges for some time struggled to evade satisfactory answers to the questions which were put; and at length a celebrated lawyer of the day, Patrick Darcy, who had smarted under the severity of unrestricted power, was appointed prolocutor by the commons, to confer with the lords, to explain the reasons of the several questions proposed for the opinions of the judges, and the insufficiency of the answers which the latter thought proper to return. The discussion was closed by a solemn determination of the house of commons, on every separate article; in which the rights of Irish subjects were stated and affirmed with strength and precision, and all the powers assumed by the late administration, all irregular and illegal practices introduced by public concessions, and sanctified by custom, were condemned explicitly and severely. The proceedings of this parliament, though they were distinguished by a laudable and anxious zeal for the assertion of popular rights, yet in almost every instance, exhibited that marked and decided hostility to the native Irish, which contributed to produce the miserable vengeance that followed. When the member of parliament declaimed on the blessings of liberty, he was confining that blessing to the little contracted circle of the pale, and estimated its security by the success with which he established

its monopoly. Heated with all the puritanical fanaticism of their neighbours, the majority of the Irish parliament were more impelled by their anxiety to degrade the monarch and the established church, than they were by the more liberal and generous attachment to public liberty. To posterity it is immaterial what causes may have combined to produce that system of freedom under which it is their good fortune to live. The zeal of the fanatic, the oppression of power, the general passion for reformation, which at this period ran through all ranks and classes of the British empire, the errors of governors, and the wisdom of the popular leaders, all contributed to the humiliation of that formidable prerogative which arbitrarily disposed of the lives and properties of the people.

It would not be supposed that 1641, the year most distinguished by the extension of popular privilege, and the restriction of regal authority, should be the year most remarkable in Ireland for the magnitude of a conspiracy, to effect the separation of the countries, and completely extirpate that power, which, for five hundred years, had exercised a cruel and precarious dominion over the lives and the liberties of the native inhabitants of Ireland. The reader of the insurrection of 1641, should always carry in his mind that the native Irish had never yet enjoyed any portion of that liberty, for which the inhabitants of the pale had so long struggled. They were the eternal victims of colonial prejudice and suspicion: whatever of power the colony was suffered to exercise by the English govern-

ment, was exerted to goad and distract and plunder the devoted native inhabitants of Ireland. To the latter, the unlimited authority of the Sovereign was often their best and most certain refuge from the persecution of their invaders. To civilize the Irish, and to plunder and confiscate their properties, were often synonymous; and the insatiate fury of avarice was often sharpened by the relentless spirit of fanaticism. The intolerance of the puritan represented extermination as an act of religious duty; and the fidelity of the native Irish to the faith of their fathers, was considered by the plunderers of their property, as a sufficient ground for accusation against the people, and ample justification of their own barbarity. We have witnessed the merciless revolution of property in the successive plantations of Elizabeth and James; we have seen whole families driven from their habitations, provinces depopulated, and the most revered and distinguished among the native Irish, reduced to the humblest and most degraded stations in society. At the period which we are now writing, a new spirit arose, which threatened to increase the sufferings, and to add to the persecutions of the Irish. Their loyalty to their king rendered them objects of hatred to those who determined to destroy him. The puritans of England, inflamed with an enthusiastic hatred of the catholic religion, determined to make Ireland, which was the scene of its triumphs, also the scene of its sufferings. To humble their monarch, it was necessary they should deprive him of that support, which the

Irish catholics had ever given to the power to which they had sworn allegiance. They, therefore, in all their struggles with Charles, lost no opportunity of diminishing that power upon which the unfortunate monarch might rely in the extremity of his distress. The government of the colony, therefore, being in the interest of Charles's enemies, endeavoured to counteract the efforts of their monarch, whenever the latter seemed inclined to yield to the wishes of his Irish subjects. They disobeyed his orders, if those orders went to conciliate and allay the discontents which they were interested to provoke. Parsons and Borlase seemed to speculate on the prospect of rebellion, and anxious only for the success of those measures which the English parliament were struggling to carry against the king. Their study seemed to be, to multiply his difficulties in Ireland, to irritate the people to insurrection, and thus give full swing to the sword of the bigot, and the avarice of the confiscator.

It does not come within the limits of this compendium to give a lengthened and systematic detail of all the various and afflicting transactions which occurred in Ireland, during the fatal and disastrous insurrection of sixteen hundred and forty-one. The heart or the understanding can derive but little improvement from the contemplation of those scenes which exhibited the struggles of unprincipled power with vindictive suffering, which present to the reader the retaliations of cruelty, and leaves the mind to balance the account between

the comparative efforts of rancorous and malignant bigotry. The Irishman of this period, who flatters himself with the interesting vision of national independence, anxiously follows the progress of Roger O'Moore. He peruses the description with pleasure which represents this advocate of national rights as the object of every man's regard, the conciliator of every heart, and favourite of every muse. He will not be persuaded by the labours of the corrupt historian, that the hero who could command the affections of his countrymen, could be capable of giving countenance to the perpetration of those disgusting cruelties which are so profusely charged upon the Irish ; or that Roger O'Moore could even have sought to accomplish the liberties of his countrymen, through the medium of all the misery that crowds the melancholy period of which we are now writing. Roger O'Moore was once the head of a powerful Irish family of Leinster ; his ancestors had been expelled from their princely possessions in the reign of Mary ; and Roger O'Moore, animated with all the pride and spirit of his name and family, was doomed to witness the degradation of his house, and the insolent triumphs of his enemies. No Irishman possessed so many qualifications to command the love and reverence of his countrymen ; his manners were courteous and inspiring, his judgment acute, and his courage invincible ; he could boast of the noblest alliances, a person remarkably graceful, a quick discernment of men's characters, and a pliancy in adapting himself to their sentiments and passions. The native Irish

looked up to such a man with enthusiastic ardour; he was the theme of their songs; the daughters of Ireland regarded him as their hero, and her sons followed him with pride and with rapture. Every hill and every valley rung with the name of Roger O'Moore. The Irish standards were wrought with his name, and the national signal which passed through every province of Ireland was—"God, our Lady, and Roger O'Moore." Such was the character of the leader who organized the formidable insurrection of sixteen hundred and forty-one—an insurrection into which the native Irish were driven by the denunciations of the bigot and the avarice of the confiscator. Dr Curry, in his invaluable review of the civil wars of Ireland, has satisfactorily vindicated the character of his country against the vicious imputation, that the insurrection of which we are writing, was as unprovoked as it was barbarous; that it burst forth in the calm of public confidence, when Ireland was about to enjoy the blessings of a limited government, when the privileges of the people were beginning to be respected, when national industry, the manufactures and agriculture of the country, were rising from the ruins of civil war and anarchy. Dr Curry has protected his country against the malicious charges of the impudent slanderer, and has proved, by a chain of unanswerable evidence, that the native Irish had no refuge but their courage and their arms against the threats of extermination and the rapacity of fanaticism.

The unfortunate Charles himself, has borne testimony to the provocations which were practised by the governors of Ireland, Parsons and Borlase,

to irritate the Irish to insurrection. "If I," said Charles in his reply to a declaration of the English commons, "had been suffered to perform my engagements to the Irish, there would have been no rebellion in Ireland. Had the governors of Ireland passed the bills for securing the estates of the natives, or for confirming the other promised graces, the Irish would not have had recourse to violence for a redress of their grievances." The extirpation of the catholics seems to have been determined upon by the same governors; Mr Carte, in his life of Ormond, has the following strong testimony to the intention of the anti-catholic party of this period: "Some time before the rebellion broke out, it was confidently reported that Sir John Clotworthy, who well knew the designs of the faction that governed the house of commons of England, had declared there in a speech, that "the conversion of the papists in Ireland, was only to be effected by the bible in one hand, and the sword in the other;" and Mr Pym, another distinguished member, gave out, "that they would not leave a priest in Ireland:" to the like effect, Sir William Parsons, (one of the Irish governors), out of a strange weakness or detestable policy, positively asserted before many witnesses, "that within a twelvemonth, no catholic should be seen in Ireland." He had sense enough to know the consequences that would naturally arise from such a declaration, which, however it might contribute to his own selfish views, he would hardly have ventured to make so openly and without disguise, if it had not been agreeable to the po-

litics and measures of the English faction, whose party he espoused, and whose directions were the general rule of his conduct.”—“It is evident,” says Dr Warner in his history of the Irish rebellion, “from the Lords Justices letter* to the Earl of Leinster, then lieutenant, that they hoped for an extirpation, not of the mere Irish only, but of all

* Mr Taaffe has the following observations on the causes of the Irish insurrection of 1641. Their fidelity and truth are supported by all the protestant writers of this period who did not feel an immediate interest in calumny and misrepresentation. “The Irish insurrection,” says Mr Taaffe, “was but a part of the revolutionary scheme, formed in England and Scotland by the puritans. This is the master-key to the proceedings of the party in both islands. The furious denunciations against popery, contained in the solemn league and covenant, in sundry acts of parliament, and in fanatical petitions to parliament for the extermination of papists, encouraged, pompously received and published; torture and death inflicted on many professors of that religion—all were directed to that end. It is difficult to conceive,” continues Mr Taaffe, “that any person calling on the name of Christ, and not quite insane, would seriously intend the diabolical project of exterminating a nation for religious opinions; but all those threats, alarms, and false rumours of fictitious plots, however ridiculous, were among the revolutionary schemes of working up the many headed hydra to the utmost fury. It was deemed necessary to fanaticise the public to prepare for great changes in church and state, and the hue and cry against popery, involving the established prelacy, partly through the affinity of the two churches, partly through the imprudence of Charles and Laud, was a potent engine to work on minds ignorant and credulous, especially to tales of malignity. The Bible and the spirit of canting hypocrisy and fanaticism, were to the English democrats of the seventeenth century, what the age of reason and infidelity were to the French democrats of the eighteenth. The means different, for a similar object, as a revolution of opinion must precede a revolution in the states.”

the old English families also, that were Roman Catholics." Dr Curry says, that this dread of an extirpation, as appears from a multitude of depositions taken before Dr Henry Jones, and other commissioners appointed by the Lords Justices, prevailed universally among the catholics of Ireland, and was insisted upon as one of their reasons for taking up arms. The Earl of Ormond, in his letter of January the 27th, and February 26th, 1641, to Sir William St Leger, imputes the general revolt of the nation, then far advanced, to the publishing of such a design. The most illiberal historian who has presumed to blacken the fame of his country by the imputation of principles it has a hundred times abjured, will not now persevere in the denial of the real object and views of those malignant fanatics who drove the Irish to madness in the year 1641. The extirpation of the Irish catholic, and the humiliation of the English sovereign, went hand in hand; and the hope of obtaining the properties of the Irish became a new stimulus to a policy as sanguinary as it was foolish.

The catholic clergymen did not escape the tongue of the slanderous; and the missionaries of peace and patience, under unmerited sufferings, were at the same moment represented as the instigators of rebellion, the disseminators of doctrines which would dissolve society, and the sycophantic and spiritless defenders of the most servile doctrines. It is strange, that even at the period in which Mr Leland wrote, the mind of the historian could have been so insensible to the suggestions of truth, as to

put on record the following libellous effusion—the progeny of falsehood and bigotry, and the laboured attestation of a corrupted, though able writer, to the calumnies of fanaticism. Speaking of the catholic clergy of this period, Mr Leland says, “ that they had the influence, even over the gentry of their communion, with which they were invested by the tenets of their own religion. The ignorant herd of papists they governed at their pleasure. They had received their education and imbibed their principles in the foreign seminaries of France and Spain. Hence they returned to Ireland, bound solemnly to the pope in unlimited submission, without profession or bond of allegiance to the king. Full fraught with these absurd and pestilent doctrines, which the moderate of their own communion profess to abominate; of the universal monarchy of the pope, as well civil as spiritual; of his authority to excommunicate and depose princes; to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to dispense with every law of God and man; to sanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and essential difference of vice and virtue; and with this and other impious trumpery of schools and councils, these ecclesiastics filled their superstitious votaries.”

The authority on which Mr Leland has thought proper to ground the preceding observations, is a disgraced and excommunicated catholic clergyman, who, smarting under indignity, stops at no charge, however monstrous, against the doctrine and principles of the church which degraded him. Mr

Leland relies on the authority of Peter Walsh, against whom the pope had denounced excommunication, as the unanswerable evidence of the atrocity of these doctrines, which were preached and disseminated by the Irish priesthood. But Mr Leland should have had the candour to acknowledge, that even the excommunicated Peter Walsh had not the hardihood to comprehend the entire of the Irish catholic clergy in his vindictive accusation, nor did he refuse putting on record, that the principal catholic seminaries of the continent, those of Paris, Rheims, Caen, Thoulouse, Poitiers, Valance, Bourdeaux, and Bruges, had on different occasions publicly condemned the pope's deposing power, as false, contrary to the word of God, seditious and detestable.

Mr Leland might have seen that even his own authority, Peter Walsh, bore testimony to the falsehood of the accusations which the fanatics of the day were in the practice of bringing against the catholic religion. Mr Leland might also have learned from Mr Carte, in his life of Ormond, a writer who was no friend to the catholic clergy, and whose means of information were better than that of any other man, either before or after his time, that "although this conspiracy was imputed to Roman catholic priests, yet not above two or three of them appeared to know any thing about it." These are Mr Carte's own words ; but this candid historian goes farther ; for he says, "if the Catholic clergy had all, even to a man, concurred in the insurrection, they would have been justified by the cruel

injunctions and orders issued by the lords justices of Ireland, (Parsons and Borlase,) “to the soldiery, to show no mercy to the Catholic clergy.”

Mr Carte continues, that “the English House of Commons gave them reason to apprehend every thing that is dreadful to human nature. They had caused the laws to be put in execution against recusants all over England. Of eight Roman catholic priests who had been taken up for the sole crime of saying mass, seven were condemned and executed. The king struggled to defend them against the fury of the puritan parliament, but in vain. The parliament loudly remonstrated against the royal interposition, and the vengeance of fanaticism thirsted for the shedding of human blood.” Mr Carte’s reflections on those facts, which Mr Leland might have read, and from which a mind like his might have derived some little portion of liberality, are peculiarly worthy the serious reflection of the readers of Irish history. In a short sentence he vindicates the human heart, goaded to vengeance by the commission of barbarous cruelty; he shelters the persecuted and unprotected against the charge of sanguinary and unpitying bigotry, and wisely accounts for all that recriminatory warfare which shocks the sensibility of every reader of our miserable records. “When men,” writes Mr Carte, “have every thing to dread in peace, and much to hope from a war, it is natural for them to choose the latter, and use their utmost endeavours to make it successful; nor is it any wonder that the catholic priests in such a situation of affairs, should have

recourse to arms, for the safety of their lives; and despairing of indulgence in quiet times, should seek in troublesome ones for an establishment never to be obtained but by the prevailing force of an insurrection." These are the reflections of a protestant writer, possessed of the best sources of information, living at a period when it would be supposed the understanding could have scarcely recovered its strength after the shock of conflicting sects, in which the most enlightened are apt to be borne down by the artifice of falsehood, or the exaggeration of calumny, against such an authority.—With Mr Carte may be adduced Sir John Temple, who lived at this disastrous period of Irish suffering, and who has left to posterity the accumulated prejudices of the men with whom he acted, during the insurrection of 1641. Sir John Temple was one of the privy council with Borlase and Parsons; and naturally interested in the circulation of every slander which might justify the violence of this period in the government of the country. We therefore find him exaggerating every act of the Irish, and representing the insurrection in which they had engaged, as the offspring of the most sanguinary bigotry, unprovoked by the violence of their government, and not even to be palliated by the suspicion of danger to their religion or their liberties: but as Dr Nelson, another protestant writer, in his introduction to the second volume of his historical collections, very sensibly and truly observes, "it is notorious, that Sir John Temple, in writing his history of the rebellion in 1641, was

bound by confederacy to assert the proceedings of the lords justices, who were highly in reputation with the usurpers of the parliamentary faction, and by them empowered, as commissioners, to impose upon the protestant subjects of Ireland that traitorous and disloyal solemn league and covenant, which was a direct oath of confederacy, not only against, but purposely to ruin and destroy the king, the church, and the loyal party ; I cannot observe the book to be printed in London, in 1646, by public allowance, (a time when no books were licensed, but such as made court to the prevailing faction of the usurpers, or which might be useful to support their calumnies against his Majesty, especially as to the Irish rebellion), without too just a suspicion of its integrity." Yet, such is the light by which Mr Hume suffered his mind to be directed, when treating of the Irish rebellion ; and Mr Leland gravely quotes his authority, as unanswerable evidence of those barbarities, which Sir John Temple charges on our insulted country. To what we have already said in support of our opinion, that Sir John Temple's charges against the Irish character were undeserving the attention of any impartial mind, and that the accusations with which his book is crowded against the religion and conduct of the catholics, in 1641, are the mere effusions of a corrupt and interested calumniator, we shall add the authority and opinion of Dr Curry. Speaking of Sir John Temple, he observes, " This gentleman published his history of the Irish rebellion in the year 1646, by the direction of the parliament party, which

then prevailed ; and to which, though long before in actual rebellion, he was always attached. The falsehoods it contains are so numerous and glaring, that even the government, in 1674, seem to have been offended, *and himself ashamed of the republication of it.* This we gather from a letter of Capel, Earl of Essex, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to Mr Secretary Coventry, of that date, wherein we find those words, ‘ I am to acknowledge your’s of the 22d of December, in which you mention a book that was newly published, concerning the cruelties committed in Ireland at the beginning of the late war. Upon further inquiry, I find, that Sir John Temple, (Master of the Rolls of Ireland,) author of that book, was sent to by several stationers of London, to have his consent to the printing thereof ; but he assures me, that he utterly denied it ; and whoever printed it, did it without his knowledge. Thus much I thought fit to add to what I formerly said upon this occasion, that I might do this gentleman right, in case it were suspected he had any share in publishing this new edition.” We felt it a duty to our country to expose the character of that author, who is quoted by her enemies against her moral and religious principles ; who has laboured to present the religion of the Catholic as the source of every crime ; and the character of the native Irishman, deserving the contempt and abhorrence of every friend to humanity. The calumnies which Sir John Temple has propagated, have been echoed by the thousand sycophants and slaves of British injustice who have succeeded him ; they

have been so often repeated, that credulity has become conviction, and the minds which had the firmness to repel the exaggerations of malignant falsehood, have been seen to sink under the indefatigable industry of the hired libeller.

The insurrection of 1641 was the natural effect of persecution; it was the vindictive ebullition of great public spirit, driven to madness by the goadings of religious intolerance. The cruelties committed during this moral convulsion, were provoked by a series of unrelenting oppressions, never to be satiated with the misery of the Irish; and the terrible vengeance which the latter inflicted on their enemies, should teach the future governors of Ireland, that the people are always barbarized by intolerance, and rendered savage by injustice. We shall not, in this compendium, follow the various fluctuations of the different parties which acted in the insurrection of 1641; we shall not pursue the course of the rebel or the loyalist; we shall not follow Roger O'Moore and his companions through the multiplicity of dangers and enterprizes in which they were engaged: such a relation would be little more than a picture of barbarous cruelty and recriminatory vengeance,—a revival of all those afflicting details which the friend of Ireland and humanity would anxiously bury in everlasting oblivion. We shall not in this volume disgust the reader by a recital of the atrocious massacre at island Magee by the English; nor shall we set down the terrible vengeance which the Irish, soon

after, at Portnadow, inflicted on their sanguinary enemies. *

* The unaccountable credulity which could for a moment countenance the circulation of the fables to which the terrified imaginations, or perhaps the corrupt policy of the writers, gave birth, is not easily reconcileable with the common sense which regulates the judgment and religious opinions of modern days. What man can refrain from smiling at the solemn gravity with which an historian will record the following absurdities :—" Hundreds of the ghosts of protestants," says Sir John Temple, " that were drowned at Portnadow bridge, were seen in the river bolt upright, and were heard to cry out for revenge on those rebels. One of these ghosts was seen with hands lifted up, and standing in that posture, from the 29th of December to the latter end of the following lent."

A modern historian (Mr Taaffe) has the following sensible observations on those miserable records of murderers, and ghosts, and goblins, which haunted the imaginations of every fool, and were the favourite theme of every knave, long after the period when it was supposed such events occurred.

" At this day (1810) it is not so material to know how many were massacred by either side, as to discover the motives that prompted the parties to those atrocities, and the prime movers of the rebellion, at whose door all the cruelties are to be laid; first, it is notorious, as already proved from the Scots covenant, (that canting, fanatical, intolerant libel on religion and common sense), and the denunciations of the English commons, as well as the sanguinary petitions received and encouraged by them, that they kindled a fanatical enthusiasm for the extermination of popery and papists; a furious zeal for such infernal projects being diligently propagated among the ignorant multitude. Nor were men of education exempt from the contagion; witness the anathema pronounced by Dr Usher against any toleration of popery, declaring, (on the catholics offering a considerable composition for the relaxation of the penal laws,) ' that it was sacrilege to compound with idolatry for money.' Armed fanatics thus tutored to blood, would think it meritorious to slay the reputed idolaters. But there was also another obvious motive, besides difference of

Could we, in passing through the scene of blood and desolation which our country exhibited at this period, discover a single gleaming of humanity, or a single effort of justice, we should feel it our duty to put it on record; but the Irish heart was so brutalized by oppression, that to destroy and to extirpate seemed to be considered as the summit of patriotism, and the generous emotions of the human bosom to be swallowed up in the barbarous denunciations of mutual cruelty and hatred.

It is to be lamented, that Mr Leland should have set down, with such peculiar accuracy, the numerous atrocities which the insurrection of 1641 furnished to his pen; and it is a subject of still greater regret, that the eloquence of the historian always assumes a bolder tone, and the colouring of his picture always becomes more glowing, whenever the vindictive barbarities of his countrymen are about to be described. There is no allowance for an unoffending people driven to madness

religion, that much more exasperated the northern Irish against the British planters. These men were, by violence and fraud, possessed of the estates of the native Irish about thirty years before, and were now living in opulence; while the descendants of the most ancient proprietors in Europe, or perhaps in the world, were pining in indigence, or emigrating for bread to foreign countries; than which no cause is more capable of exciting enmity. The royal robbers, James and Charles, prepared the combustible of very extensive discontent, and the puritans kindled the wisp. This will satisfactorily appear from the places where the insurrection commenced; counties where ancient proprietors were unjustly dispossessed of their estates, which were partly bestowed, and partly sold, to English adventurers."

by the persecutions of an insatiable avarice. The historian has no commiseration for the thousand families of the native Irish, whom the agents of England expelled from their homes; whose properties they confiscated, and whose children they beggared: if the English suffer, the indignation of Mr Leland is roused, and his eloquence flows in a strong and irresistible current. The following is a good sample of the moderation with which this impartial historian records the acts and proceedings of his countrymen.

“ They who escaped the utmost fury of the rebels, languished in miseries horrible to be described. Their imaginations were overpowered and disordered by the recollection of tortures and butchery. In their distraction, every tale of horror was eagerly received, and every suggestion of frenzy and melancholy believed implicitly. Miraculous escapes from death; miraculous judgments on murderers; lakes and rivers of blood; marks of slaughter indelible by every human effort; visions of spirits chanting hymns; ghosts rising from rivers and shrieking out revenge; these and such like fancies were propagated and received as incontestible.” When Mr Leland is, in the next page, describing the merciless slaughter of the Irish in island Magee, a district bordering on Carrickfergus, where three thousand unoffending innocent persons, men, women, and children, according to Mr Carte, in his life of Ormond, were barbarously sacrificed to the fury of a remorseless soldiery, we cannot hear a single sigh of compassion; not a breathing of pity,

nor a single reflection of reprobation or condolence with the reader. The duty of the historian should rather be directed to heal than to irritate ; to account for the cause, rather than exaggerate the cruelties, which persecution often provoked, and which justice to the devoted Irish would always have prevented. The parliament of Ireland, and the Lords Justices, Borlase and Parsons, interested in the protraction of that insurrection to which their cruelties had given birth, discouraged every effort which was made by their most efficient generals, to put an end to the power of the insurgents. " Whatever were the professions of the chief governors," says Mr Leland, " the only danger they really apprehended, was that of a too speedy suppression of the rebels." The Earl of Ormond was, in numerous instances, limited in his resources, restrained in his progress, and absolutely prohibited in the adoption of those plans which would have speedily extinguished the flame of insurrection.

Confiscation and plunder was the great object of the puritan governors of the pale ; and, as Mr Leland has the candour to acknowledge, " the favourite and anxious wish of the Irish governors, and their friends, the English parliament, was the utter extermination of all the catholics of Ireland. Their estates," continues the same historian, " were already marked out and allotted to their conquerors ; so that they and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin." Mr Carte, in his life of the Earl of Ormond, gives the same opinion on the designs of the government of Ireland at this period, and

attributes almost all the calamity with which the English inhabitants of Ireland were visited, to the unprincipled and avaricious policy of its government. The insurrection was carried on in the different provinces with various success ; those of the south exhibited more order and system in their operations than the north. Their conflicts, though not important in their results, were marked with circumstances of cruelty and barbarity equally disgraceful to the contending parties. There seemed to be little more than a rivalry of vengeance between the Irish and the English, in which the innocent and unoffending were almost always the victims ; and the total oblivion of which may perhaps be now considered as the first duty of the historian as well as the reader.*

* In addition to the authorities we have already adduced, in justification of the resistance of the Irish to the threats of extermination, and the actual infliction of great suffering, we shall subjoin the enlightened, comprehensive, and unanswerable observations of Doctor Curry, who has devoted so much labour to the establishment of truth, the refutation of calumny, and the confusion of all the hired libellers of the Irish people. These observations are to be found in his introduction to the Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland ; and perhaps there could not be gleaned from the hundred volumes which have been written on the disastrous subject of the Irish insurrection, so satisfactory a consolidation of all those reasons which the most enthusiastic defenders of the Irish nation would wish to see advanced.

“ At the period,” says Doctor Curry, “ from which I have commenced the review of the civil wars in Ireland, it will be found, that spiritual hatred mixed itself with our former seeds of dissension. The perverseness so long imputed to the Irish, as a people, was no longer charged on their nature, but on their religion. Almost every moral and civil duty was then confined

The struggles of the Irish were hitherto so unsuccessful, that the boldest and most confident of

within the pale of an ecclesiastical party ; every species of treachery was placed beyond it ; real crimes were disowned by one faction ; imaginary crimes were imputed to another ; and this state of things occasioned guilt on both sides, which, in a different state, would undoubtedly be avoided. High as most of those crimes were, yet most were exaggerated, and the innocent suffered with the guilty. To complete the misery of the times, the gospel of peace was tortured to defend the measures and sanctify the drunkenness of every governing, as well as every resisting set of men ; and thus it fared in Ireland, in some time after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne.

“ Queen Elizabeth, whose reign began in the height of ecclesiastical rage, had admirable talents for government. To plant civil order in the place of that misrule, which disgraced the three preceding reigns, was difficult. Her interest led her, and the success of her father and brother encouraged her, to change the religion then established in England. This she effected ; but truth must oblige us to confess, that the new church was reared on the foundations of persecution, and that the violence so justly censured in Queen Mary's reign, was adopted as a justifiable measure in the present. The change was made by a quick act of legislative power, but without that moderation which sound policy should direct in establishments of this nature. By the change, one party in the nation was ruined, another was provoked ; papists were occasionally punished without discrimination ; and, in the idea of party justice, this procedure appeared equitable ; but the puritan protestant was punished also ; and the clamour ran high among dissenters, that the old beast returned, with a change only of the rider and the habiliments. The party for a comprehensive reformation grew popular, and increased in strength and in numbers every day, as it increased in faction and enthusiasm. The new church, even in the act of extirpating the old, created to itself enemies on all sides ; and thus it happened, that the system wove by civil policy, was in a great degree unravelled by the ecclesiastical. The natives of Ireland, ready at all times to recognize the temporal supremacy of their

their leaders began to despond. On the other hand, the English parliament determined to put forth all

sovereign, and reject every foreign claimant, lay or ecclesiastical, of such supremacy, merited being received into the society of constitutional subjects; and that they should be so received, had been the labour of Sir Henry Sydney, one of the wisest, ablest, and best governors ever sent into that kingdom—but in vain. The reformation, it is true, made no progress for a long time without the pale, and extraordinary efforts to enforce it by arms, would certainly be dangerous, as it might put an end to intestine divisions among the people, which hitherto proved so useful towards their reduction. To favour those divisions was previously the more politic alternative; and the queen received the submissions of many Irish chieftains at her court very graciously; dismissed them with honours and presents, and left them free as to the concerns of their spiritual conscience. It was otherwise within the pale and its environs; here even the seneschals of counties exercised plain tyranny over the people, and such particular severities were then inflicted, even in the opinion of the lord deputy himself (Lord Mountjoy) as were sufficient to drive the best and quietest states into a sudden confusion. The evils of persecution were severely felt in England particularly, and in several districts of Ireland, during the greater part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. One party was punished without discrimination, and the other (and indeed both) without sound policy. Those evils increased in the two succeeding reigns, when those three kingdoms, for the first time, had been united under one sovereign. James I., whom the trumpeters of faction charged with favouring popery, was a great and determined enemy to his popish subjects. His administration in Ireland, with little exception, is a full proof of this. His trimming conduct towards the papists of England, antecedently to his accession, is no proof to the contrary; for they gained nothing (and he intended they should gain nothing) by the laws he held out to them. Learned without knowledge, cunning without wisdom—one of his first gracious proclamations imputed a general gaol delivery to all his subjects, excepting *murderers and papists*—and this coupling of the latter with such criminals,

their strength, and to prosecute the war in Ireland with increased vigour and resources. They enter-

produced a resentment which, degenerating into mad revenge, contributed in a considerable degree to the detestable powder plot, entered into soon after by a few desperate men, to get rid of their persecutors. Charles, the successor of James, trod ruinously in his father's footsteps. He wanted to impose the English religion on his Scotch subjects. The covenanters would not bear the introduction of what they deemed a superstitious liturgy among them. They defended themselves against it by insurrection, and the parliament sitting at Westminster approved of their conduct. The northern Irish, finding affairs embroiled in Great Britain, and dreading fatal consequences from the resolutions denounced against papists in the English House of Commons, entertained the thought of availing themselves of the present opportunity of frustrating the intentions of their enemies, and shaking off the bondage they groaned under from the time of the queen's denial; but they meant to compass this end by means equally justifiable with those employed by the Scotch covenanters, and still without an impeachment of their loyalty. The memory of past grievances, the dread of present destruction, made those men desperate.

“ For forty years before the period we mention, the whole body of the Irish papists bore ministerial invasions of the most distressing nature to the human mind. The lands possessed by their families for several ages, were, in the court casuistry of that age, pronounced invalid and resumable tenures, though no charge of treason or rebellion could be made to the heirs in actual possession. Upon this pretence of defective titles, some have been ruined, others threatened with ruin: and this was not all. The court harpies, grown impatient at the passive conduct of the proprietors, attempted to provoke them to open rebellion, by exercising the most galling tyranny over their consciences, by fining, imprisoning, and punishing in various shapes, such papists as refused to join in the established form of worship. Here, then, see how the natives have been alarmed with regard to property and spiritual liberty, and how they were tortured by state inquisitors, for not submitting to religious doctrines which spiritual directors

ed into a treaty with Scotland, in 1642, for sending her army into Ireland. Robert Monroe, at the

may preach, but which no civil power on earth has a right to impose. They, surely, who vindicate the right of the Scots to insurrection in 1640, can, with no good grace, condemn that of the Irish in 1641; we do not defend either, but we may safely assert, that he who should, at this time of day, advance with my Lord Clarendon, that 'the Irish had no civil or religious grievances to complain of, during the forty years antecedent to the Ulsterian rebellion in 1641,' has but a wretched alternative in opinion between wilful ignorance and barefaced dishonesty."

The malignant prejudice with which Mr Hume exaggerates the errors or the crimes of the Irish, and the furious prepossessions which he discovers through every page of his history against this unoffending and abused people, is well remarked upon by our able and honest countryman, Dr Curry. When Mr Hume was living, he and his friends were challenged by Dr Curry to an examination of the charges against the Irish people. Mr Hume was unwilling to correct those errors against the Irish character, and those insults against their feelings, which he well knew were so palatable to the insatiable monopoly of his English reader. Dr Curry, speaking of Mr Hume, observes, "It is indeed to be lamented that Mr Hume, one of the ablest writers of the present age, should, as an historian, suffer himself to be so far led astray by such cotemporaries as we have hinted at, as to transfer all, or most of the mischiefs of the year 1641, in Ireland, from the original authors to the unfortunate Irish alone. Parties less aggrieved, in Scotland, were up before them, and drew the sword, not only with impunity, but with advantage. The Irish in Ulster, who wanted to regain the lands they had lost, followed the example. We do not justify the act in either kingdom; we only advance in alleviation of the Irish crime, that the majority of the Irish nation had, in the two reigns of James and Charles, suffered a cruel bondage of thirty-eight years, with little intermission, and had now the most alarming prospect of extirpation before them. They did not mean to withdraw their allegiance from the king; even the weak leaders of the northern rabble had no such intention. The latter began and acted singly; most of the in-

head of three thousand men, embarked for Carrickfergus. He marched against Sir Phelim O'Neal, who retired to Armagh, full of rage and disappointment at the misfortunes of his army. The secret instructions of the Scottish general prevented him from following up the blow, which would have concluded the insurrection in the north. His friends and partizans in the English parliament had their particular views in the protraction of the war; and the English army was left to contend alone with the recruited army of Sir Phelim O'Neal. The latter were now further animated by the presence of a general in whose experience and military talents they confided. Owen O'Neal, whose arrival had been so long and so anxiously expected, landed in the county Donegal, with 100 officers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. He came from Dunkirk, and had served in 1640, in the Spanish and imperial armies, with great reputation. Mr Carte says, that he was an able and experienced general, quick in discerning, and diligent in improving any advantage offered by the enemy; more circumspect than enterprising; of a genius peculiarly suited to defence, and excellent at protracting a war; qualities of especial use in the service which he was now to undertake. His knowledge of the world, his prudence, his sobriety and caution, appeared to greater advantage, as they

nocent protestants, in the neighbouring districts, had time to escape into places of security before many murders were committed. The papists in the other provinces had no share in their guilt; they immediately published their detestation of it."

were contrasted with the intemperance and levity of Sir Phelim. Owen O'Neal was declared by the northern Irish head and leader of their confederacy. The instant he assumed the command of the Irish army, he issued orders that every act of inhumanity committed by his troops should be punished in the most exemplary manner. He deprecated every expedient not recognised by the most honourable warfare ; he discouraged the cruel and vindictive, and circulated among his troops principles of mercy and humanity, even to their enemies.

Notwithstanding the formidable force which the Scottish general, Monroe, could now bring into the field, amounting to 20,000 foot, and 1000 horse, he suffered Owen O'Neal to collect and discipline his army, to fortify his strong posts, and assume an attitude of strength hitherto unenjoyed by the Irish insurgents. Nor were the foreign friends of the Irish inactive in furnishing them with supplies of every description, with money and ammunition, and the most experienced and enterprising officers. Cardinal Richelieu, who at this period administered the government of France, warmly co-operated with the Irish insurgents. He permitted those Irish officers who had distinguished themselves in the service of France to repair to their own country, in defence of its liberties and its religion.

The war in Ireland had now assumed a formidable aspect. It was conducted with as much system as spirit, and every expedient which the most judicious policy could suggest was adopted with alacrity

and decision. The clergy were summoned to make their appeal to the religious feelings of their countrymen,—to rouse their enthusiasm for the security of religious liberty,—and to inflame the spirit of the patriot by representing the cause in which he was embarked, as the cause of truth and of his country. A general synod assembled at Kilkenny, in the month of May, 1642. In this assembly we may for the first time discern a rational and efficient effort to bring into action the spirit and resources of the Irish nation. Here may be seen the centre of the great public mind, and the powerful engine by which its energies might be advantageously directed to the public liberty. The influence which so venerable a body could exercise in Ireland, was as natural as it was extensive. The Irish clergy had adhered to their religion and to their countrymen with a fidelity which the annals of the world cannot surpass. They passed through the furnace of the hottest persecution with a fortitude which no despotism, however malignant, could shake. That their voice and their decision, therefore, should be heard and followed with respect and with devotion by Irishmen, will not be wondered at by those who will call to their recollection the patience of the Irish priest, under centuries of intolerance and of suffering. The acts of the synod were most important. Like the clergy of all other sects of Christianity, they commenced with a declaration in support of the religion which they professed, asserting its superior claims to purity and truth, and that it was perfectly consistent with the duties of

their station, to call upon their countrymen to defend the religion of their forefathers against the rude and barbarous invasions of intolerance. They proclaimed their anxiety that no distinction should hereafter exist between the old and the new Irish ; that the Irish protestant who was friendly to his catholic countryman, should enjoy equal protection with the catholic ; that there should be no distinction but between those who were enemies and those who were friends ; that no man should be the victim of his peculiar and favourite faith ; and above all, they threatened the perpetrators of cruel and inhuman acts with the severest denunciations of the catholic church. They recommended provincial councils, composed of clergy and laity, and a general national council, to which the provincial councils should be subordinate ; and that foreign powers should be applied to—the emperor, the king of France, and the pope. Such were the acts of the clergy ; to which the catholic nobility and gentry, then residing in Kilkenny, immediately subscribed. To those who are in the practice of deprecating the interference of the Irish catholic priest in political considerations, we may reply, that he is justified by the example of every country in Europe. The minister of the protestant church thinks it no departure from his duty even to unsheath his sword in defence of his establishment in church and state. The minister of Christianity, the herald of peace, feels no compunctious visitings when standing in the ranks of his countrymen, associated for the purpose of defending the liberties

and the religion of his country. The same feeling actuated the bosoms of the Irish priests, when in solemn synod they appealed to the pride and spirit of their countrymen, to defend themselves against the cruel persecutions with which their country was threatened by an intolerant and sanguinary government. The Irish catholic priest, however, will often be found administering consolation to his bitterest enemy, blunting the sword which he could not sheath, and softening the spirit of vengeance which he could not entirely extinguish.

A supreme council, composed of the chief nobility and gentry, assembled, and Lord Montgarret was named as their president. A general assembly of the whole nation was then determined upon, whose first sittings were to take place in the ensuing month of October. It is impossible for an Irishman to contemplate this great and glorious scene, which elevates the humblest mind, and animates the coldest bosom, without indulging in those reflections which must embitter the days that Ireland is doomed to experience, stripped as she is of her purest robe of honour, thrown down from that station which she once occupied, and reduced, as she now is, to the humiliating and insulting vassalage of a tributary to the pride and strength and riches of another country. Fancy may in vain delineate the picture of an independent nation, making her own laws, commanding her own armies and navies, and bringing into action, at once honourable and productive to her people, her boundless resources in genius, industry, and strength.

In vain, we fear, may Ireland anticipate the blessings which flow to a nation from the enjoyment of equal rights; whose laws are administered by those who are interested in the impartial dispensation of justice; whose elevation and whose fortune go hand in hand with the honour and character of their country. No doubt, the convention which assembled in Kilkenny, in October 1642, and which comprised all that was dignified and spirited in the land, frequently flattered itself with the realization of so glorious a scene. Where the genius of Ireland stood untrammelled and unrestrained by the quibble of the placeman and the pensioner; where the Irish mind was buoyed up on the swelling sea of public freedom, and every heart and every hand were devoted to the establishment of equal laws and equal rights; where the eloquent found a subject commensurate with their powers, and the poet and orator enjoyed a perpetual theme of panegyric and glory—in such an assembly, the Irishman might indulge in all the visions of independence. Such contemplations made him equal to great and glorious enterprizes; they rendered the dangers of the struggle in which he was engaged as trifling, when compared with the object for which he was contending; and, like the armour of the warrior, covered and protected him against the power of his enemy. This celebrated convention, which gave so much hope to Ireland, and excited so much fear among her enemies, consisted of two houses, the one composed of tempo-

ral peers and prelates, the other of representatives deputed by the counties and cities.

The views of this assembly were strictly regulated by principles of the most unshaken attachment to the house of Stuart. Their declaration was candid, clear, and unequivocal; they claimed protection against injustice, and toleration for their religion; they took up arms as much in the defence of the royal prerogative as of their own liberties, and vindicated the constitutional claims of their sovereign, with as much zeal as they pleaded for their own rights. Though they thus adhered to the king, they denounced his Irish representatives. The direction of the confederacy was entrusted to a council composed of twenty-four persons, selected from the general convention. They were denominated the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. They had the uncontrouled direction of the civil and military power of the country; and for their honour and security, a guard was assigned, consisting of five hundred foot and two hundred horse. The Irish convention then proceeded to the appointment of their generals, and to the distribution of their powers. Owen O'Neal was appointed to the command of the Ulster army, Preston to Leinster, Garret Barry to Munster, and Colonel John Burke to Connaught; they dispatched ambassadors to all the foreign countries, soliciting their aid and co-operation. Having thus prepared for war, they determined to demonstrate their anxiety for peace, by a respectful representation of the grievances by which they

were oppressed, and which they alleged were the ground-work of the formidable confederacy which they had now effected.

About this period, the differences between Charles and his parliament had increased to the utmost extent, and the Irish of the pale were divided into a royal and parliamentary faction. The Earl of Ormond and the army declared for the king; and the lords justices and their friends, who had imbibed all the prejudice, the malignity, and puritannical bigotry of the English parliament, co-operated in all the views of Charles's enemies. The civil war of England was now declared, and the animosity of the justices and the king's Irish general, the Earl of Ormond, promised an easy victory to the Irish confederacy. The present distresses of the sovereign pointed out the policy and expediency of paying immediate and respectful attention to the prayers of his Irish subjects. Pressed by an inveterate bigotry in his own country, which no concession could conciliate, he was advised by his friends to repose confidence in the fidelity of Ireland, to listen to her complaints, and protect his feelings. When we consider the formidable attitude of the Irish at this moment, we cannot but admire the kind forbearance which would sheath the Irish sword, and court a termination of hostilities. Balancing the rising power of English enemies against the possible aid which he might receive from his Irish subjects, and taking into consideration the awful consequences of driving a whole people to the desperate extremity of renouncing their allegiance to their

sovereign, he issued a commission to the Marquis of Ormond, and five Irish noblemen of the pale, to hold an immediate communication with the Irish confederacy, to receive and transmit their propositions of conciliation and peace. The lords justices left no expedient untried to defeat the royal views, and perpetuate a conflict, which might terminate in the submission of the king to the wishes of his enemies.

The English parliament, under the controul of the most furious fanaticism, thirsting for the annihilation of every adherent to the Catholic faith, armed the lords justices, Parsons and Borlase, with unlimited powers. The latter implicitly followed up the wishes of their patrons, and issued forth their orders of extermination. "It was resolved," says Borlase in his history of the Irish rebellion, "upon solemn debate, on the 8th of December, 1641, by the lords and commons of England, that they would never give consent to any toleration to the Popish religion in Ireland, or any other of his Majesty's dominions, which vote hath been since adjudged a main motive by the Irish, for making the war a cause of rebellion." This dreadful denunciation of the English parliament was faithfully followed up by the lords justices. With such rancorous enemies, the unfortunate Charles had to contend in all his difficulties. The negotiations between his Majesty's commissioners and the deputies of the confederacy, were frequently interrupted by the malignant suggestions of the lords justices. The king, under his peculiar circumstances, could not

yield to his disposition to conciliate the Irish. When he negotiated with their leaders, he was compelled to the adoption of such language as was calculated to wound the pride and spirit of the Irish. The latter were reproached with the title of rebels ; and the moment which was selected to heal the wounds of the country, was also chosen to induce the acknowledgment of a crime which the Irish leaders always repelled with indignation. They pertinaciously refused to negotiate in any other character than that of men constitutionally demanding their rights ; and such were the embarrassments of the king, that he was obliged to accede to the pretensions of his Irish subjects. Four of the king's commissioners met the agents of the Irish at Trim. Here the latter presented their remonstrance of grievances and their petition for redress. They strongly pleaded their loyalty and their services ; the intolerance of the present governors, Parsons and Borlase ; and their sufferings under the most torturing oppression. They set forth the denunciations of their malignant and fanatical enemy, the English parliament ; and their apprehensions that nothing short of the extermination of their religion, its professors and followers, would appease the vengeance of its bigotry. They prayed their sovereign to convene a new parliament, in which the Irish might enjoy a fair and impartial representation ; where they might deliberate without controul, and from which those who professed the religion of the country should not be excluded. It is remarkable that the Irish agents also prayed his majesty to sus-

pend the law of Poynings, by which the deliberations of the Irish legislature were directed and restrained. Such claims could not be acceded to by the royal commissioners; but the pressure of the king's difficulties were now so severe, that it became a question of prudence to yield to the pretensions of the Irish. A cessation of hostilities was secretly proposed by the Marquis of Ormond, and candidly and honourably accepted by the Irish. They wanted no more than a redress of that injustice under which they suffered; and the increasing embarrassments of their sovereign did not raise their tone of complaint or remonstrance. They agreed to a cessation for twelve months, on such conditions as their agents and the Marquis of Ormond might hereafter agree upon. The misfortunes of the king continued to press the necessity of adopting the most expeditious plan of conciliation in Ireland. He gave orders to Ormond to accede to the wishes of the Irish confederacy, and he manifested his sincerity in the negociation, by committing to close custody the most virulent and odious enemies of the Irish—Parsons, Temple, Loftus, and Meredith. The Irish arms were triumphant in almost every part of the country, and the Irish convention, assembled at Kilkenny, partook of the general spirit which pervaded all ranks of their countrymen.

The present imposing attitude of the Irish attracted the attention of foreign courts; and all the expedients, drawn from policy and religion, were employed to extend the flame of national independence. Peter Scramp, a minister from the pope,

brought supplies of money and ammunition to the confederate Irish. He boldly animated them to an assertion of their country's freedom; that the king of England was no longer formidable to his English subjects, and much less to Ireland; that the partizans of the English parliament were now at their mercy; and that a most disgraceful spirit of slavery alone would suggest any measure short of national independence; that they would command the respect and the co-operation of foreign powers; and that a nation who would not seize the opportunity which providence had offered her to assert her rights, deserved to remain in everlasting bondage. The suggestions of the pope's envoy were not attended to by the more moderate among the leaders of the Irish, and a simple redress of the grievances of which they complained was the extent of their demands—the object for which they took up arms, and the sole condition on which they would agree to lay them down. The Earl of Clancrickard and Lord Castlehaven were most prominent in moderating the spirit of their countrymen. A cessation was finally concluded on the 15th of September, agreeable to both parties, and confirmed by the lords justices with all due solemnities. Thus was the current of Irish victory checked by a judicious concession on the part of the Marquis of Ormond; and the connection between the two countries preserved, which at this moment trembled on the feeble support of a single act of conciliation. The success of Ormond's treaty with the Irish, was a serious counterpoise to the rising strength of the

enemies of Charles; or, as they were accustomed to observe, the Irish forces would now unite with the popish party in England. The immediate effect of this cessation, was the sending forward a considerable Irish army to the assistance of Charles. They were met by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who gave them a complete defeat.

Ormond was created lord lieutenant of Ireland, in which station he displayed that sound and penetrating judgment which so successfully combated with the greatest difficulties. The fanaticism of the Scotch, headed by Munroe, in the north; the patriotic enthusiasm of the Irish confederacy; and the loyal zeal of the king's party, were difficult of management and direction, unless under the hands of so accomplished a politician as Ormond. So ably did he now conduct himself between the friends of the king and the confederacy, that the Irish made overtures to him to accept the command of their armies; to consolidate the royal and the Irish force, and make common cause against the Scotch, who seemed to have determined on the extinction of the Irish name and religion. The peculiar situation of Ormond protested against the adoption of such a measure. His anxiety for his royal master dictated the policy of rejecting a proposal which might strengthen the arm and the arguments of his enemies, the parliament of England; and on the other hand, the present formidable power of the Irish, made it necessary to avoid all causes of irritation and insult. In the meantime the agents of the Irish confederacy negotiat-

ed with their sovereign at Oxford, according to the articles of cessation, and the conditions of a final peace between Charles and his Irish subjects were here proposed, which would for ever secure the loyalty and tranquillity of Ireland. The best evidence of the humiliation of the king, and the proud and imposing attitude of Ireland in 1644, is to be found in the spirited and independent character which distinguishes the demands of the Irish agents.

They claimed from Charles the freedom of their religion ; a repeal of all penal statutes ; a free parliament ; a suspension of Poynings' law, during its session ; the annulling of all acts and ordinances since the first of August, 1641 ; a general act of oblivion ; a free and indifferent appointment of all Irish natives, without exception, to places of trust and honour. They also insist upon the formal declaration of the independency of an Irish parliament on that of England. They propose an inquiry to be instituted into all the cruelties and barbarities which have been committed on either side in the late unfortunate struggles ; and that the perpetrators should be brought to condign punishment. In the spirit of truth and candour, the Irish agents declared, that the granting of such demands as have been here set forth, would insure the steady and ardent loyalty of the people of Ireland ; that the latter sought no more than that protection which a free and impartial constitution would give them ; and that they were ready to sacrifice, in return for its blessings, their lives and their properties. On these conditions, ten thousand Irish soldiers were ready

to draw their swords in defence of their monarch, against the insatiable and fanatical licentiousness of English enemies.

The protestants of the pale were not inattentive to those important transactions at Oxford. They sent forward their delegates to plead their cause, to repel misrepresentation, and defend the ascendancy of their party. It is distressing to be obliged to record the furious denunciations of the protestant Irishman against his catholic fellow subject, who was seeking nothing more than a participation in that constitution which the protestant would monopolize : and it is afflicting to remark the important vanity with which monopoly asserts its pretensions to royal partiality. Mr Leland says, " the extravagance of intolerance exhibited by the deputies of the protestants, astonished the king and his ministers ; for what did they require, in the face of those events which had so lately deluged their country with blood ? They prayed his majesty to perpetuate the causes of public irritation. They proposed the banishment of the catholic clergy ; that the confederacy should be disarmed ; that the utmost vengeance should be taken on those who carried arms ; that the oath of supremacy should be enforced, and the law of Poynings (which degraded our Irish parliament) piously maintained ; and that all forfeited estates should be vested in English planters. In a word, they proposed that the catholic religion, and all its followers, should be proscribed, and, if possible, exterminated. The historians of these times attribute the malignity of such pro-

posals to the influence of the parliamentary fanatics of England, who speculated on the multiplication of the royal embarrassments. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive that such sentiments could flow from the bosoms of the Irish protestants, however provoked by the excesses of ignorance, or the barbarities of fanaticism. The suggestions of the most vulgar policy would restrain the human mind from thus volunteering in its own degradation. Though the catholic might be humiliated to the level of the brute, the Irish protestant must have seen that such a punishment would recoil on him who inflicted it ; and that the oppressed and degraded Irish would find their vengeance in the poverty and degradation of their masters. The fanatics of the English parliament, however, who dictated such principles, could not be influenced by considerations like these ; and it is therefore reasonable to suppose them to be the principal promoters of such an infernal policy as we have described. The increasing difficulties of Charles obliged him to pay the most respectful attention to the Irish confederacy, whose claims were as reasonable and just, as their power to enforce them was formidable and commanding. They sought the rights of man, and were superior to their English fellow subjects in kind and benevolent sentiments, because they did not seek to establish their freedom on the ruin of that of others. Taking into consideration the difficulties of Charles, the demands of the Irish should be considered as moderate ; yet such was the situation of parties in England, that the king could not make such con-

cessions to his Irish subjects as would silence all future complaint. To the Marquis of Ormond was left the ungracious and difficult task of concluding such an arrangement as would give satisfaction to all parties in Ireland. He met the deputies of the Irish confederacy in Dublin, on the 6th of September, 1644. At this interview the cessation was prolonged: but the conditions of peace proposed by the Irish, being an echo of those proposed in the former year at Oxford, could not be conceded to by Ormond. The treaty was adjourned until April, 1644; during which interval Ormond promised to communicate with his sovereign on the proposed conditions of the Irish confederacy. Those who have doubted the wisdom of that policy which desires Ireland to estimate her hopes of prosperity by the depression of England; those who refuse to take advantage of the difficulties of the English government, or who will not measure their chances of redress by the multiplication of English embarrassment, let them read with attention the letter of Charles to the Marquis of Ormond, in 1645. "Whatever it cost," says Charles, "*you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not to discover your enlargement of power till you needs must*; and though I leave the management of this great and necessary work to you entirely, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the *suspension* of Poynings' act for such bills as should be agreed on, these and the *present* taking off the penal laws against papists by a law, will do it, I shall not think it a *hard bargain*, so that freely and vigorously they engage

themselves in my assistance, against my rebels in England and Scotland; for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour." Here the Irish reader will see justice going hand in hand with royal adversity; he will see the tears of the sovereign washing out the foulness of the penal code, and the Irish heart relieved from the pressure of intolerance, in proportion to the humiliation of English power. To take the oath of supremacy is dispensed with, as a necessary qualification in a member of parliament; and every disposition consistent with sound practical policy was manifested, to conciliate the Irish affections. The councils of the Irish confederacy were now conducted with talent, spirit, and integrity. They stood on high ground, and maintained their station with true patriotic firmness; neither to be divided by the subtleties of negotiation, nor weakened by the influence of corruption. They multiplied their applications to foreign courts, and guarded against the capricious revolutions of fortune. They displayed their strength and their zeal, by sending forward fourteen hundred of their most distinguished troops to the service of France; and when Ormond solicited them to supply Charles with two thousand men to support Montrose in Scotland, the answer of the Irish confederacy was worthy of the cause in which they were embarked. It speaks a volume in support of that manly and decided understanding, which could not be shaken by the chivalrous weakness that sympathised with royalty in distress, while it forgot the duty which it owed

to the liberties of its country. It is as follows: "We never will send men to the assistance of the king, until such a peace shall be settled as will demonstrate that we had really taken up arms for the sake of our religion and our country, and to establish both in their full splendour and their ancient grandeur."

Mr Leland is indignant at the Irish priest, for the zeal he displayed in animating his countrymen to a firm and fearless assertion of the rights due to their religion and their liberties. His words are as follows: "The clergy, who had the whole commonalty at their devotion, laboured to obstruct all measures of accommodation which might not gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes. Too ignorant to discern, and too selfish to regard the real interests of their party, they entertained their imaginations with gay prospects of riches, power, and magnificence, and intoxicated their partizans with declamations on the splendour of their religion." This is a sweeping judgment on the talents, the spirit, the fidelity, and the fortitude, with which the Irish clergy have adhered to the religion and the liberties of their country, unworthy of the veracity of an honest historian, and disgraceful to the character of an Irishman, who ought not to be insensible to the claims which the Irish priest has on the veneration of posterity, when he reads the struggles with which he combated, the seduction he resisted, and the despotism which he conquered. The clergy of the established church would justly consider that accusation illiberal, which would represent their

attachment to the creed of their fathers as the offspring of ignorant zeal and barbarous fanaticism.

The modern historian should endeavour to inculcate in the heart and understanding of his reader, a becoming respect for the various, and often unintelligible opinions, of his fellow creatures. He should recommend the toleration of all. He should discourage that insolent pride which would dictate on subjects incomprehensible by man; and he should demonstrate from his reading and his experience, that he who conscientiously adheres to the faith of his fathers, without turning to the right or to the left to question the purity of another's creed, will be the best member of society, as well as the best subject of the king. Toleration is the great secret which promises to harmonize mankind. Under its government the fanatic loses all his importance, and bigotry all its malignity. The human mind ranges at large in search of truth, and no longer adheres to a doctrine which cannot bear the crucible of examination. Mr Leland was a distinguished member of the established church. This divine, who boasts of professing a religion which preaches resistance to oppression, should have been one of the first to tolerate those principles which the great majority of the Christian world have adopted, as Christians, and which the penal laws against Ireland have contributed to circulate.

The impatience manifested by Charles to come to a final accommodation with the Irish, contributed to raise the expectations and pretensions of the confederacy. He granted a commission to a zealous

partizan of the royal cause, the Earl of Glamorgan, empowering this nobleman, (who being married to the sister of the Earl of Thomond, was allied to the most powerful families in Ireland), to adopt such arrangements as he thought best calculated to bring his differences with his Irish subjects to a speedy termination. The Earl of Glamorgan impressed Charles with the opinion, that so extensive was his influence among the Irish, that he would be shortly able to lead ten thousand men from Ireland to the assistance of his sovereign. Charles armed the Earl of Glamorgan with full powers, and the latter proceeded to negotiate with the Irish confederacy. This important assembly had now occupied the serious attention, and excited the interest, of all the crowned heads of Europe. The sufferers in the cause of the catholic religion naturally attracted the sympathy, and commanded the regard of the Roman pontiff, Innocent X. He received the sacred ambassador of the Irish confederacy, with all the respect due to the spirit and fidelity with which the people who sent him adhered to the religion of the catholic church. He sent forward his envoy, John Baptista Rinuccini, a noble Florentine, to the Irish confederacy; who was eminently gifted with all those qualities best calculated to command and to conciliate. Eloquent, graceful, and ambitious; zealously anxious for the unlimited independence of the people to whom he was delegated, he attached to his interests every Irish heart which honestly glowed with the love of country. Mr Leland charges the ambassador from

Rome with an extravagance of spiritual pride. Perhaps it would be more just to attribute to Rinuccini the same enthusiastic zeal for the ascendancy of his religion, which so peculiarly distinguishes Mr Leland himself; and that in all his efforts to procure for the Irish the splendid and permanent establishment of the catholic church in Ireland, he was only performing those duties which every sincere and honest sectarian feels it incumbent on him to perform. Whatever were the errors in point of prudence and expediency committed by the pope's nuncio, in his various negotiations between the Irish and the Marquis of Ormond, it must not be forgotten, that he always made the oath of association, by which the Irish confederate assembly of Kilkenny were bound to each other, the perpetual rule of his conduct, without ever bending to the suggestions of expediency, or yielding to the dictates of a temporary policy. The oath of association, taken by the convention of Kilkenny, particularly declared, "that those who subscribed it would not consent to lay down their arms until all the laws and statutes made since the time of king Henry VIII., whereby any restraint, penalty, mulct, or incapacity, or any other restriction whatsoever, is or may be laid on any of the Roman catholic religion, within this kingdom, and of their several functions, should be repealed, revoked, and declared void in the next parliament, by one or more acts of parliament to be passed therein." This was the oath by which the Irish confederates were bound to each other; and it remains to the impartial ob-

server of those times, to decide whether the Irish party, who insisted upon the performance of the conditions for which they first took up arms, are deserving of those severe animadversions in which every Anglo-Irish writer has thought proper to indulge. There is no doubt that if the spirit which actuated Rinuccini and Owen O'Neal, had not been opposed by the artful machinations of Ormond, and the wretched compromising policy of some of the members of the council of Kilkenny, the fair and honest claims of Ireland would have been conceded, and religious and civil liberty completely established. The double dealing conduct of Ormond towards the Irish, is demonstrated by the necessity he imposed on the king to set on foot a secret negotiation with the Irish confederacy, through the medium of the Earl of Glamorgan. From this effort on the part of Charles, it is manifest either that he suspected the truth and sincerity of Ormond, with regard to his Irish subjects, or that he contemplated the possibility of obtaining a large force from Ireland on the faith of a mock treaty, which he could disclaim whenever it might be his convenience; thus balancing his Irish against his English subjects, making Ormond the instrument of his purposes against the latter, while the credulous Glamorgan would be struggling to conciliate the Irish confederacy. The dissimulation and insincerity of Ormond, however, are most obvious through every stage of this miserable struggle; and the unfortunate king seems to be the victim which this hypocritical servant willingly offers up to the fury of

English democracy. The battle of Naseby, in which the royal forces were defeated, developed the true character of Ormond; for it appears that the private instructions of Charles, which were discovered in the king's cabinet at Naseby, empowered Ormond to conclude a peace with the Irish on whatever terms the Irish might please to dictate, consistent with their allegiance to his majesty. The letter of instructions was published, with such observations as laid open the deep and designing plans of Ormond.

The state of parties in Ireland and England at this period is well described by Mr Taaffe; a description which satisfactorily accounts for that duplicity which Ormond so successfully practised for his friends in the English parliament, to the ruin of the Irish and his unfortunate sovereign, to whom he affected such incorruptible fidelity. It also vindicates those Irishmen who had the sagacity to sound the real objects of Ormond, and the spirit to resist them. Unfortunately for Ireland, the owners of the estates forfeited from the ancient Irish, sat in the assembly of Kilkenny, who clung to English connection on any terms of humiliation and bondage as their fancied security for retaining possession; little foreseeing that they were only keepers on them, until swarms of Irish would come to demand and seize them. It was the misfortune of the Irish, that the liberties of their country depended upon the firmness of those, whose immediate interests were entwined with the security of that government which had so long oppressed them.

The gold of England effected what its physical power had in vain attempted; and in the assembly of Kilkenny, the richest and the most ennobled catholics were to be found, who basely ministered to the designs of the common enemy. Their servility and want of spirit assumed the titles of prudence and expediency, and the men who had the integrity and the courage to insist upon the unqualified emancipation of their countrymen, were branded by the degraded supporters of Ormond, with an unthinking violence, and an unreflecting intemperance. Ormond, artful and corrupt, well knew the nature and quality of the materials he had to work upon. He flattered the vain, he bullied the timid, and deceived the honest and undesigning. The artifices of Ormond, the oscillations between his sovereign and the English parliament; his insincerity to the Irish, and his studied watchfulness for his own immediate aggrandizement, are well remarked upon by Mr Taaffe. "Before we pursue Ormond," (says this writer), "through all the labyrinth of his tortuous politics, now negotiating with the Irish, then with the covenanters of Ulster; acting ostensibly as the king's deputy, but in true earnest as the cringing slave of his enemies, until he surrendered Ireland naked and divided into their hands; we must review the conduct of the loyalists, and how far they contributed by their divisions, their consequent tardiness, and half measures, to their own country's ruin. To have a conception of their proceedings and their effects, it will be necessary to take a concise view of the different parties in the

two islands, their views and expectations, when the rupture about the peace took place. The royal party in the neighbouring island was crushed, and the rebels triumphed. The king, reduced to despondency, and deluded by the flattering invitations and promises of the Scotch rebels, surrendered himself into their hands, who kept him a close prisoner, with a view of *making the most of their prey*. These were averse to either cessation of arms or peace in Ireland, for two reasons. First, it was only in times of trouble that they could turn possession of the king's person to account; and an Irish peace, accompanied with the utter overthrow of the royalists in England, by putting a period to the war, and indeed removing all pretences for its continuance, might lead to a settlement in both islands. Further, they had been promised the plunder and forfeitures of Ireland by the English parliament; of both which lucrative objects an Irish peace threatened to deprive them. The English parliament was an enemy to the settlement of Ireland, until they should settle it on a model of their own fashion. The king had left heirs, who would of course set up their claims to the throne. Their pretensions might be supported by foreign powers, and (Ireland in its present state) a dangerous nest of royalists, lay as a convenient back door to receive them, and furnish them with great resources, and opportunities for invading England and Scotland. A great revolution in landed property appeared to them necessary; vast forfeitures; the erection of a new landed interest; fresh plantations of colo-

nists, armed, and covenanters. To bridle a disarmed and oppressed people, appeared the best and only means of obviating the danger from that quarter; hence it is plain, that though they disliked not a temporary truce with the Irish, especially such as Ormond contrived, of a nature to divide them, they would never ratify a peace advantageous or satisfactory to the Irish—any that left things there in their actual state. Charles, since the battle of Naseby, looked on his case as extremely doubtful, and countermanded the sending auxiliary troops from Ireland a good while before his captivity; ordering Ormond nevertheless to conclude the peace with the Irish. His Scotch subjects having deceived him by their fallacious promises of restoring to him his rights, either by treaty or by force, he saw no asylum for himself or his family but in the loyalty of the Irish. There he might expect such succour from foreign powers, interested to support the cause of royalty, and chastise every example of rebellion in subjects, as might enable him to reconquer his other kingdoms, or at worst, protect his throne in one. He found some means of conveying his wishes to the nuncio and Glamorgan, who were plotting to devise some means of effecting his escape from the Scotch to the Irish; but they were frustrated. From this brief statement of parties, a statement which all authorities of all parties justify, the reader will perceive that the opposers of the so called peace of 1643 are not dealt fairly with in any writings that I could see.”

The inflexible temper of Ormond towards the Irish.

confederacy, which would yield to no terms but those which left the religion of the Irish at the mercy of the fanatic, obliged Charles to have recourse to the demi-official agency of the Earl of Glamorgan. We say demi-official, because Charles, the perpetual victim of expedients, was so unprincipled as to disclaim publicly having given any powers to Glamorgan to guarantee the toleration of their religion. The pope's nuncio remonstrated against the idea of a separate negociation with Glamorgan, foretold its future futility, and deprecated its present folly. He recommended the Irish to insist on the establishment of their civil and religious liberty openly, candidly, and through the only accredited agent of the king, the Marquis of Ormond. The treaty with Glamorgan, however, went on, and was quickly concluded. The council of Kilkenny trusted to the royal promises, and in the generous effervescence of an honourable credulity, pledged their lives and fortunes in support of the royal cause. On the part of Charles, it was agreed by Glamorgan, that all Roman catholics should enjoy the public exercise of their religion, possess all the churches not actually enjoyed by Protestants, exercise their own jurisdiction, and be exempted from that of the Protestant clergy; that an act of parliament should be made to confirm these concessions, and to render catholics capable of all offices of trust or emolument; that the Marquis of Ormond should not disturb the catholics in these or other articles to which the Earl of Glamorgan had consented:—for the due performance of all those ar-

ties Glamorgan engaged the royal word. The Irish council met their sovereign with corresponding sentiments of generous and enthusiastic gratitude; the bravest and best blood of their country was ready to stand forward in his defence; ten thousand men were ordered to attend the king in any part of his dominions; and the clergy offered two thirds of their revenue to maintain this formidable army. This private treaty, (disgraceful to the Irish, because it was private), was entered upon on the 25th day of August 1645. The public treaty by which the king was bound in the presence of Europe, went on with as much austerity on the part of Ormond, as if he was unconscious of the royal disposition towards the Irish. The fact was, Ormond wished to deceive the parliament of England and his sovereign; and Charles and his credulous agent, Glamorgan, wished to deceive the Irish nation. The consequence was, what it will ever be, the confusion and destruction of those who surrender the plain honest principles of candour and fair dealing to trick, finesse, and duplicity. Mr Leland is angry with the Irish for daring to insist, in their public treaty with Ormond, on the restoration of their religious establishment. "The propositions of the Irish council were extravagant and insidious, amounting to nothing less than a legal establishment not only of the Roman worship, but the papal jurisdiction." Mr Leland should have considered, that at this period the property as well as the numbers in Ireland were catholic; and that if England had a right to set up a religion of its own manufac-

ture, and after its own taste, the Irish had as good a right to insist on the restoration of that religion, in all its splendour, which Ireland had professed for 1200 years. Will it be urged that the Irish catholics, who, in property as well as in number, were as nineteen to twenty, had not as much right to preserve their religion, or that they had not as equitable a claim to its establishment, as episcopalian and presbyterian protestantism had in England? The enlightened sectarian must smile at the little spirit of ascendancy which so often breaks out in the pages of this historical protestant divine. If ever any people had the right to lay down, for posterity, a religious establishment by which to regulate their conscience, the Irish people had that right; and their representatives in the assembly of Kilkenny were only performing their duty, when they insisted on the free exercise of their religion, and the re-establishment of their religious houses in all their former splendour and magnificence. It was the exercise of this right that gave to Mr Leland the form of religion which he so much admires. It was the parent of the reformation, and should not be denied to the venerated descendant of Christianity.

This patched up and garbled peace, publicly bad, and privately good, was strongly objected to by the best friends of Ireland. They saw no security for the fulfilment of the conditions for which they took up arms; their religion was as much under the yoke as ever; their penal statutes were still unrepealed, and the sword was drawn in vain for the

liberty of Ireland. The miserable insincerity of Charles is prominent throughout all his negociations with the Irish through the medium of Ormond and Glamorgan. He laboured to keep well with both parties, the English parliament and the people of Ireland. He would have made Ormond his instrument of deception against the English, and he could willingly sacrifice Glamorgan to the chance of conciliating his Irish subjects. When the commission given by Charles to Glamorgan to negotiate with the Irish for the toleration of their religion, and the restoration of its establishments, was discovered, we find the Earl of Glamorgan thrown into prison, in order to protect the king against the suspicions of his enemies, though Ormond was well aware that Glamorgan did not exceed the powers he received from his sovereign. But Glamorgan is not only thrown into prison to expiate his offence against the king, but Charles himself has the confidence to disavow, in his declaration to the English parliament, the very powers with which he agreed a short time before to invest him. In the true jesuitical spirit he writes to Ormond: "It is possible we might have thought fit to give the Earl of Glamorgan such credentials as might give him credit with the Roman catholics, in case you, the lieutenant, should find occasion to make use of him as a further assurance to them of what you should privately promise, or in case you should judge it necessary for their greater confidence to manage those matters apart by him." Charles not only humiliates Glamorgan into the humble instrument of his du-

plicity, but consents to sacrifice his character to the rancour of his most inveterate enemies. " He regrets that he had not employed a wiser man ; repeats his assurances, that as he had not much regard to the abilities of Glamorgan, he had bound him to take directions from the lieutenant, both in the matter and manner of his negociation ; and commands the inquiry into his instructions to Glamorgan to be rigidly prosecuted." The moment Charles was thus writing to Ormond, and his council in Ireland, he was secretly giving instructions to Ormond to protect Glamorgan ; and to the latter he was communicating the strongest professions of friendship and regard. This perpetual course of hypocrisy which distinguished the councils of the unhappy Charles, were the chief cause of his ruin, and the ruin of his friends. It is an unanswerable vindication of those among the Irish, who would not surrender to any terms short of the unequivocal concession of religious and civil liberty, not secured by the word of a king who had so often deceived, but by an act of the legislature which could not be misinterpreted nor retracted. However honourable the anxiety of that party was, who did not wish to press Charles for those conditions which the oath of association bound the Irish nation to demand, it is impossible not to admit, that with their experience of the royal insincerity, and with their knowledge of the royal necessities, those who advised an explicit recognition of Irish rights, religious as well as civil, stood upon ground which common sense must acknowledge to be invincible.

The zeal of Glamorgan to satisfy the doubts and suspicions of the Irish confederacy; the oscillating councils of Charles to both his negociators, Ormond and Glamorgan; the pressure of his English enemies; the strength of the Irish confederacy, and its present importance in the royal scale, all contributed to animate the advisers of unconditional and unequivocal freedom, to persevere in their demands, and to insist upon the rigid performance of their claims. Such was the miserable indecision of the royal councils, that the time was consumed in hypocritical negotiation, which should have been employed in sending forward that assistance which Ireland could have greatly afforded to their distressed monarch. Ireland wanted nothing more than the restoration of her rights; and though she was the last refuge of Charles against his rebellious subjects of England, yet so infatuated was the policy which directed his affairs, that dissimulation and trick seemed to be the only resources of the royal councils in the greatest extremity of their distress. The sympathy of the Irish confederacy with the sufferings of their embarrassed sovereign, induced them to yield to the promises of Ormond; and the sincerity of their loyalty to Charles prompted them to relax in those conditions which a wise and enlightened policy would have generously conceded. That treaty of peace was finally concluded on the 28th of March, 1646, in which the Irish stipulated to transport 10,000 men to the support of the royal cause. The time of action in England had gone by, the enemies of Charles were triumph-

ant, and the protection of his Irish dominions was now the principal object to be attended to. The Irish confederacy, honourable in their professions of attachment to their king, immediately proposed to Ormond that the Irish and the royal forces should be united in the common cause, and that Ormond should accept the command of the united army. The conditions demanded by the artful Ormond before he would subscribe to this generous and honest proposal, fully develop the character of this nobleman, and satisfactorily confirm the suspicions which the reader must have hitherto entertained of his sincerity in the cause of his sovereign. Though the parliamentarians, under the command of the bigotted and sanguinary Sir Charles Coote, were wasting the west of Ireland with fire and sword, Ormond hesitated to embrace a proposal which must have secured the triumph of his master. He required that the articles agreed to between the Irish and the Earl of Glamorgan, and which pledged the royal word to the toleration of the catholic religion in Ireland, should be suppressed; that they were disavowed by the king, and that he could not suffer their publication; that if they did not subscribe to this condition, such were the circumstances of his sovereign, that he should be obliged to have recourse to some other mode of preserving his authority in Ireland. This declaration alarmed that part of the Irish confederacy who were most forward to conclude the treaty with Ormond. It confirmed the suspicions of those who cautioned the confederacy against his

artifices; it gave confidence to Rinuccini, who, with the great majority of the Irish clergy, adhered to the letter of that oath by which they associated for the establishment of their freedom.

“The parliamentarians of Munster,” says Mr Leland, and in this assertion we cannot be better supported, “in the fulness of their zeal, would be contented only with the extirpation of popery and the rebellious Irish race.” They would, therefore, not be easily prevailed on to agree to a treaty which conceded even existence to a catholic. The nuncio, Rinuccini, who in many instances usurped too much power, and displayed too much arrogance, was correct in the judgment which he gave of the stability of any treaty concluded on the conditions prescribed by Ormond. He resolutely remonstrated against it, and raised up a powerful opposition among the clergy and the nation against its continuance. Owen O’Neal denounced the treaty; at the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, he joined the standard of the nuncio; and in the celebrated battle of Benburbe, near the Blackwater, routed the English and Scotch army with immense slaughter. The Scotch were commanded by Munroe, who fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving his arms, tents, and baggage, to the victorious Irish. The army of Owen O’Neal quickly increased its numbers; victory covered him with fame, and the hope of freedom once more beamed on every Irish heart.

The nuncio co-operated with O’Neal, in bringing to his aid all the thunders of the church against

the supporters of a treaty which effected nothing for the Irish;* which left them at the mercy of their ene-

* Party writers (we mean those writers who have been paid to traduce every effort in favour of Irish freedom), have so misrepresented the conduct of the native Irish who co-operated with Rinuccini in unveiling the hypocrisy of Ormond, and exposing the fallacy of the treaty of peace which this wily lieutenant induced the confederated council, assembled at Kilkenny, to conclude with him, that we feel it a duty we owe to the cause of truth, and of our country, to detain our readers for a few moments, while we state two or three propositions, conclusive, in our minds, of the wisdom and the spirit which distinguished those men who opposed the Ormondists of Ireland in the year 1646—in Carte's life of Ormond, will be found the following remarks : “ The nuncio, Rinuccini, and Owen O’Neal, absolutely refused to submit to the treaty ; the former, because there was no provision made for the free exercise of the catholic religion, without which, the confederates were engaged by their oath of association, never to conclude a peace ; and the latter, on the same account, as well as that no stipulation was made for restoring him and his numerous followers to their forfeited estates in Ulster. The nuncio alleged, besides, that the commissioners who had concluded the peace, did not, according to their instructions, insist upon the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman catholic religion.—The Marquis of Ormond could not deny the fact, but he maintained (and here we request the reader’s attention to the acute sophistry of the Anglo-Irishman), that ‘ the peace which the confederate commissioners had concluded, by virtue of an authority derived from their general assembly, whether advantageous or prejudicial to those that hurted them, ought to have been inviolably stuck to, how blameworthy soever they might be pretended for transgressing instructions.’ This manner of reasoning, however, seems to have been taken up by his excellency only for present convenience, for he argued very differently on the same topic of instructions, when, in a former treaty with the confederates, the case was to be his own, and when, in order to justify his rejecting some of their propositions, he told them, that ‘ if he had exceeded

mies, and exposed them to the ridicule and contempt of Europe. Rinuccini convened the clergy at Water-

his instructions, he would have deluded those he treated with, with the shadow of concessions, for that the substance would be lost by his transgressing the rules given him, in any one particular.' But, however that might have been," continues Mr Carte, "the nuncio's casuistry differed materially from that of his excellency on this occasion, and therefore, that prelate resolved to enforce his opinion by such means as it appears he had neither commission nor instructions to pursue. Having called together, at Waterford, such of the Irish bishops and clergy as were mostly under his influence, on pretence of forming a synod to settle ecclesiastical matters, he entered all at once on a debate concerning the lawfulness of the late peace, and having soon determined, that all those who were instrumental in making it, were, for the reasons before mentioned, guilty of a formal breach of their association, he issued an excommunication against them, as also against those of their communion who should afterwards adhere to it, forbidding, under the same penalty, any further dues to be collected by, or paid to such persons as were formerly appointed to receive them, and giving encouragement at the same time to the people, to resist any force that might be used for that purpose."

Upon the above statement, Mr Taaffe has the following observations. When we were making this quotation from the valuable, because honest, history of Taaffe, we heard of the author's death, and the honours which his countrymen have it in contemplation to pay to the remains of their able but unfortunate historian. Perhaps there never was such a conflict of good and bad qualities to be found in any man, as was observable in Mr Taaffe. Animated with the most ardent enthusiasm for the independence and fame of his country, there was no toil so great, no danger so formidable, no enemy so powerful, as to intimidate his spirit, or to damp his ardour. A profound political thinker, he ably exposed the cause of his country's weakness, in many productions which attracted the attention of the first characters in the Irish senate. The writer of this history has heard his immortal countryman, John Philpot Curran, quote the lines of Mr Taaffe, from his

ford, who there proclaimed all those persons that adhered to the peace between the Irish confedera-

Mirror of Ireland, in 1796; and he has seen the Irish parliament caught with the strength and the truth of the quotation.

Mr Taaffe was a catholic clergyman, but his passions triumphed over the solemn obligation of his sacred profession, and his immoral example made it necessary to denounce against him the terrors of the religion which he disgraced. From his inflexible determination, however, never to embrace the creed of any other persuasion, at a time too, when his great talents commanded the attention of the highest and most exalted politicians in the land, we must, in charity, conclude that he was betrayed by the constitution of his nature, into a temporary abandonment of principle; that reflection brought on repentance, and that, though dismissed from the society of those whom he most respected, he resolved to convince his countrymen, that the enemies of the religion and liberty of his country should gain but little by his fall. Those who doubted his sincerity as a catholic, will not presume to deny him the meed of an honest, brave, and uncorrupted Irishman; a man whose talents have exposed the frauds, and the conspiracy of party writers, and whose political opinions, when his example as a priest shall be forgotten, will be engraven on every Irish heart, and perhaps hereafter be the rule and the guide of his countrymen. The faults of Mr Taaffe were rather the aberrations of a constitution heated to excess by the fire of its own creation, than a cold, calculating, selfish following of vice. Mr Taaffe has been often seen to shed tears over the errors of his life. The superstitiousness of virtue frequently drove from her door the penitent sinner, and Mr Taaffe has frequently been lashed by despair into a repetition of these foibles to which he originally fell a victim. In 1798, that calamitous season of Irish suffering, and English torture, when the informer and the executioner were panting for their prey, Mr Taaffe is well known to have enjoyed the confidence of his countrymen. The constant reader of Polybius, Xenophon, Marshal Saxe, and the King of Prussia, could not but be furnished with some information on military subjects. He made the experiment of his military genius in the rebellion of 1798; and hundreds will attest, that to his di-

cy and Ormond, as guilty of violating their oath of association. They excommunicated the commis-

rection and council alone, is to be attributed the *much lamented* fate of the ancient Britons, at Carnew, in the county of Wexford. Those who were in command among the Irish, bowed to his superior powers ; and Mr Taaffe was seen marshalling his pike-men, on a weather-beaten mule, with as much indifference as Bonaparte rode his charger at the battle of Austerlitz. It is impossible any Irishman can read Mr Taaffe's history of this country, without lamenting for a man, who, when pressed down with distress, the victim of every slander, the detestation of every bigot, the fool of every blockhead, had the spirit and the integrity to resist the bribes of the Castle, and vindicate the honour of his country. It is impossible, we repeat, to refuse our tears over the grave of so singular a character. The bigot may dispose of him as he pleases ; the enemy of Irish freedom may triumph over his ashes ; but the true friend of Ireland will cherish his memory, and read his works. They will learn wisdom from his errors, as well as from his doctrines ; and while they avoid his faults, endeavour to imitate his virtues.

The writer of this compendium has often contributed to soothe the mind of Mr Taaffe, when assailed by the heaviest of his afflictions.—He may boast of having endeavoured to blunt the edge of the bigot, and alleviate the sufferings of the patriot. He knew Mr Taaffe when the enemies of Ireland failed in corrupting him to their purpose ; and he would now be doing injustice to his fame if he did not bear testimony to the triumph of his integrity.—But to return to the quotation which we have made from the history of our departed countryman : “ The reason of the nuncio, Rinuccini, against the peace, was not refuted ; that the commissioners widely departed from their instructions, on which account the assembly was not obliged to ratify. The reasons urged to the queen, in a letter from the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and the bishop of Elphin, in the name of the congregation of the clergy, were quite sufficient to damn the treaty ; ‘ that all was left to the pleasure of the king, surround-

sioners who had negotiated the treaty with Ormond—denounced the council of Kilkenny—and

ed by their sworn enemies.' What worse could be dictated by a conqueror to a prostrate people? It was hard to surrender their rights, civil or religious, to the pleasure of any man, especially a prince of a different religion, not noted for keeping his word, or even his oath, and under the controul of their sworn enemies; and all this headlong slavery rushed into by the very men who, on taking up arms, swore never to lay them down until they obtained a full ratification of their rights. The arguments of the confederates, to reconcile the clergy to the omission of this article in the delusive treaty, were extremely futile. They refer to the private treaty of Glamorgan, which the king publicly disavowed in a message to both houses, and which, together with Glamorgan, his secret ambassador, he would consider a slight sacrifice towards an accommodation with his now victorious enemies. If William was, though the victorious deliverer of the English, obliged to give up to their selfishness and their national hatred of the Irish, the treaty of Limerick, can it be imagined that a subdued monarch, captive in the hands of his irritated and triumphant subjects, could stickle for private engagements made with a people odious to them, whom at any rate they were resolved to crush. Equally or more absurd is it to refer to concessions which the king might make hereafter. The king's restoration could not reasonably be expected but by the sword or accommodation. If by the former, of which there was not the slightest probability, he would become an absolute monarch; and what use he might make of unlimited power they might conjecture from his having plundered the Irish for many years, by his tyrannic inquisition into defective titles; if the latter, the Irish must be given up to their sworn enemies; no parole engagements would be acknowledged, no public treaties held binding. The nuncio and the clergy insisted on an honourable peace, such as might be well received and abetted by the whole nation; a treaty that would be approved by the head of the church and other catholic po-

bound themselves, by a new oath, never to lay down their arms until they had secured their civil and religious rights.

The Ormondists, for so were the Irish adherents to the peace now called, fled to Dublin, with the

tentates, able and willing to assist the Irish, if they saw them sincere and earnest in their endeavours to support the cause of royalty and their religion. The abandonment of one of these, in a public treaty, and that considered in an age of bigotry the most important, was enough to drown the Irish cause with the catholic powers of Europe, who must consider their dereliction of their just demand of a claim to the toleration of the catholic faith, in a solemn treaty, while they were craving the aid of catholic princes for the maintenance of their church, as egregious folly and downright imprudence. Those who are so hasty to reprove the Irish clergy for insisting on the confederates to keep to their oath of association, and accept no peace that did not include the toleration of their religion, seem neither guided by candour or love of truth. They should first prove that the clergy stepped beyond the limits of their office; and, secondly, required impracticable terms—neither can be proved. It is hard to prove that it is foreign to the character of a clergyman to procure toleration for his flock, or that the Irish were then incompetent to obtain it, if unanimous in the demand. Let the clergy of the opposite parties be compared. In England and Scotland the pulpit thundered treason, sedition, persecution. No writer has ventured to condemn the opposition of Owen O'Neal to that treaty—with what colour could they? At a time when England and Scotland were in arms for their privileges, and the Irish confederates contending for their civil and religious liberties, was it for the brave men of Ulster to relinquish their claims to their patrimonial estates, swindled from them? The Ultonians could not, and ought not, approve of any treaty that did not stipulate an entire restitution of their patrimonial estates. Here was the blow. The majority of the assembly were possessed of forfeited estates, and restitution to

earl at their head. Owen O'Neal, Rinuccini, and the Irish army, took possession of Kilkenny. The nuncio assumed the direction of Irish affairs, appointed a council, and selected his generals. So formidable was his power, that Glamorgan became his vassal ; and even Charles flattered himself with the hope of finding protection under his authority. The Irish had now taken a station better calculated, under prudent and spirited councils, to accomplish the liberty of Ireland, than any we have yet witnessed. There were no connections in the new Irish association, which could corrupt by their influence, or betray by their insincerity. The men who now took the lead were the *old Irish*, as Mr Leland calls them ; the most determined, and the most devoted to the cause of Irish liberty. It is true, they acknowledged the authority of Rinuccini, the pope's nuncio ; and it may here be asked, why not acknowledge his authority ? Rinuccini had brought them money and arms ; he had procured the aid of foreign powers ; he was zealous, able, and eloquent ; capable of filling the high station in which he was placed, and possessing the unlimited confidence of the power which commissioned him ; the Irish therefore submitted to his councils, in common with those of their most distinguished countrymen. Ormond's resources were

Owen O'Neal would encourage other claims, consequently civil war, of which the Ormondists and advocates of that scandalous treaty were the real promoters, not the Irish clergy, or the disinherited Milesians of Ulster."

exhausted; his duplicity was defeated; his services to his unfortunate sovereign were fruitless, because insincere; and so little of zeal had he for the royal cause, that, rather than strike to the demands of the Irish, to which Charles had often secretly desired him to concede, he surrendered to the bitterest enemies of his sovereign—to those men, and that nation, which could only be satiated with his blood, and the ruin and destruction of that unfortunate family.

Ormond applied to the English parliament, represented his distress, the insecurity of English power in Ireland, and the immediate necessity of a force to preserve it. The parliament ordered two thousand foot and three hundred horse to go forward immediately for Dublin. In the mean time, the Irish army, amounting to sixteen thousand foot and six hundred horse, with O'Neal at their head, marched to the siege of Dublin. Preston commanded the Leinster forces; and those two generals, if united, might have determined the fate of their country. It appears that Preston was vain, credulous, and violent; that O'Neal was cautious, watchful, and jealous of every overture made by Ormond, or any of his friends. The latter calculated on gaining upon the weakness of Preston; and thus, by division, blasting the fairest prospects Ireland ever enjoyed. While the Irish were negotiating, the army of the English parliament were marching to the support of Ormond. The English arrive in Dublin, and O'Neal retires with his army. Preston continues an idle negotiation with

Ormond, and the opportunity of action is lost. Though Preston was willing to betray the Irish cause, yet he could not influence his officers to follow his example. They would not abandon their true, uncompromising countrymen, under the command of O'Neal. The feeble mind of Preston once more changed, and again he is seen taking his place under the standard of the Irish council at Kilkenny. The latter send forward their ultimate propositions of peace to Ormond, characterized by their wonted spirit, being an unequivocal and unconditional assertion of civil and religious freedom. This was too much for the loyal Ormond; he preferred the degradation and humility of his persecuted sovereign to the liberties of his country, and consented to arm those hands with the sword which, he well knew, would willingly sheath it in the bosom of the unfortunate Charles. He concludes his treaty with the English parliament, and sends forward his second son, Lord Richard Butler, the Earl of Roscommon, Colonel Chichester, and Sir James Ware, as hostages for the faithful performance of his stipulations.—The articles were signed on the 19th of June 1647, and the English parliament immediately became masters of the Irish metropolis.

On the departure of Ormond from Ireland, faction seemed to raise her head with multiplied terrors to the people. They were now visited by a rapacious and insatiable enemy, who thirsted for the extinction of the Irish name. The royalists, parliamentarians, and Irish, tore the country to

pieces; and the jealousies, rivalships, and enmities of those who should have been leagued in the common cause, completed the victory of the English. The precipitate zeal of Rinuccini frequently defeated the steady and judicious valour of Owen O'Neal; and the half loyal and half patriotic leaders of the confederate army exposed them to their more decided, although less powerful opponents. Owen O'Neal would sometimes rejoice in the disappointment of the royal hopes, though the success of the latter would have contributed to promote his own favourite object of Irish freedom; and so infatuated were the leaders of the confederacy, that they could smile at the defeats of Owen O'Neal, and the triumphs of their country's enemies.— That a people wretchedly divided could succeed against the well combined efforts of England, would be weakness to suppose. Ireland was doomed to be the prey of her own divisions; and though possessed of strength sufficient to struggle with the world, we shall see her the victim of folly and indecision. The leaders of the confederate army were Preston and Lord Taaffe. Those men should be considered more as the champions of Ormond and the king, than the defenders of their country, or the assertors of its rights. They idly identified the royal interests with Irish liberty, and weakly conceived that what promoted the one established the other. It is not surprising, therefore, that Owen O'Neal, whose language was always intelligible, whose cause was plain, clear and unequivocal; who never mingled the question of

his country's freedom with the royal interests; who drew his sword solely for his country—it is not very wonderful that such a man should hesitate to rejoice in the victories of Preston or Lord Taaffe. The fatal battles at Dungan-hill in Leinster, and Knocknoness in Munster, in which the confederates sustained a decisive defeat, broke down their spirit, and compelled them to make another attempt at negociation. The general assembly was summoned at Kilkenny; and notwithstanding the vehement opposition of Rinuccini, they resolved to send agents to the Queen and Prince of Wales, then residing in France. The nuncio and Owen O'Neal, on the other hand, proposed sending ambassadors to the courts of Rome and Madrid.—They truly insisted that all future communications with the royal family would be an idle waste of time; that the Queen and the Prince would be no security to Ireland for the faithful fulfilment of those conditions which ought to be conceded, supposing either the Queen or Prince willing to grant them; and that the question was no longer the re-establishment of Charles, but the establishment of Irish liberty. Such reasoning did not convince the partizans of royalty; the general assembly agreed to send forward their deputies to the Queen and Prince of Wales, who were then in Paris. The predictions of the nuncio and the Irish leaders were amply verified. Their old, artful, wily negociator, Ormond, was the chief counsellor of the Queen. He had fled from England, either from fear or policy. It is impossible that the

solid services which he had rendered to the enemies of his master could so soon have been forgotten. Perhaps, as the adviser of the Queen and Prince of Wales, he could once more demonstrate his zeal against the liberty of Ireland. We shall find him practising the same dexterity, the same half measures, which destroyed his sovereign's authority in Ireland. He succeeded in poisoning the minds of the Queen and the Prince against the nuncio and Owen O'Neal, and procured his appointment to the lieutenancy of Ireland in 1648.

During these puerile negotiations in France, in which the interests of the royal family and their crafty adviser, Ormond, were alone concerned, the supreme council of Kilkenny, which at this period consisted of the opponents of Owen O'Neal, were greatly dismayed at the alarming aspect of their affairs. Through the medium of Ormond, they struggle to gain over to their side the neglected Lord Inchiquin, who commanded the parliamentary forces. A powerful confederacy between him, Preston, Lord Taaffe, and Ormond, was formed by the machinations of the latter, to procure a cessation of arms, and to ratify a peace on such fair and reasonable conditions, as every temperate Irishman could wish for; or, in other words, another effort was to be made by Ormond to sacrifice the Irish cause to the supposed interests of the royal family.

Owen O'Neal and the nuncio opposed the cessation with increased zeal, and proclaimed those who gave it their support unworthy the name of Irish-

men. Mr Leland says, that neither the people nor clergy yielded at this period to the threats of the nuncio ; that his excommunications had lost their terrors ; and that two archbishops, two bishops, all the secular clergy of their dioceses, all the Jesuits and Carmelites, many of the Augustinians and Dominicans, and above 500 Franciscans, protested against the violence of the Pope's nuncio. This may be all true ; but independent of the crowds of unbought and fearless clergymen, who supported the nuncio and Owen O'Neal in their opposition to a cessation founded on the hypocritical professions of men who had so often betrayed the Irish, common sense proclaims the wisdom of the nuncio's conduct on this occasion, and the stupid, or rather the corrupt credulity of the Ormondists. The confederate leaders turned their arms against their countrymen, and the parliamentarians were gratified with the glorious prospect of civil war. Lord Taaffe, and Preston, and Clanrickard, are now seen drawing their swords against their allies of yesterday ; and the Irish reader may easily conceive the mortifying spectacle, which such fatuity must have presented to every honest and reflecting observer.

It was a strange revolution to witness a friendly communication between Owen O'Neal and Jones, the general of the parliamentary forces, then quartered in Dublin. Such was the inveterate rancour of hostility which existed between the confederate leaders and Owen O'Neal, that the common enemy was embraced by the latter, to revenge himself on those whom he considered Ireland's greatest ene-

mies, namely, the Ormondists. He formed the bold design of marching to Kilkenny, and seizing the whole supreme council of the confederates. Such was the situation of things in Ireland, when Ormond arrived at Cork from France. Every succeeding day increased the pressure of his sovereign's difficulties, and every effort should now be made to strengthen the royal party in Ireland.—Alas! the time for an efficient and decisive exertion in Ireland had gone by; the feelings of the nation were trifled with; their demand of right was rejected with disdain; and now the period had arrived when the royal misfortunes extorted from the representative of the king those concessions which should have been given with cheerfulness, and would have been accepted with gratitude.

The soldiers of Cromwell were now clamouring for the blood of the king: the fatal information was conveyed to the leaders of the Irish confederacy; its effect was sudden and powerful. The persecution of the king united every heart, and gave new energy to every hand; all objections to a complete recognition of Irish privileges were removed, and those concessions which Ormond conceived himself so prudent in rejecting at a former period, were granted with a feverish precipitation: all the penal statutes were to be repealed, and the catholics left to the free exercise of their religion. Such a concession, two years before, might have saved the life of Charles, and extinguished the rebellion of Englishmen; Ormond's half measures prevented so happy a determination. Twelve commissioners were

named by the general assembly, called commissioners of trust, whose duty it was to take care that the articles of peace should be duly performed. They were to have a joint authority with Ormond, and only to be dissolved by an act of parliament which would ratify the freedom they had succeeded in establishing. In the mean time Charles I. fell a victim to his enemies, and all those visions of relief with which he flattered himself from his Irish subjects vanished into air. Ormond immediately proclaimed the Prince of Wales king; the heart of every Irishman re-echoed the sound, and every bosom burned with vengeance against the insatiable cruelty which pursued their sovereign to the scaffold.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

COMMONWEALTH.

A. D. **THE** struggles of Ormond, and his commis-
1649. sioners of trust, were marked with the same undecided character that distinguished all his former efforts. Ormond's great object was to unite all parties, if possible, in support of the common cause; that the enemies of Charles II., and the murderers of his father, should be hereafter considered the only enemies of Ireland; and that every concession should be made to conciliate the most austere and rigid assertors of Irish freedom. For this purpose, Ormond would not hesitate to shake hands with Owen O'Neal; but so infatuated were the confederate council of Kilkenny, that they not only refused to coalesce with this gallant and generous soldier,* but actually proclaimed him a traitor.

* Mr Taaffe, speaking of the infatuated conduct which distinguished the confederate council at Kilkenny, and of their ingratitude to Owen O'Neal, their most illustrious leader, has the following animated observations: "What welcome news to the co-

Owen O'Neal, disgusted with such miserable policy, intrigued with the parliamentary forces, relieved

venanters of England, Ireland, and Scotland ! The illustrious hero of Ireland, Owen Roe O'Neal, crowned with laurels on the continent ; the only name on the military staff of Ireland formidable to its enemies ; who had the praise even of his enemies, both at home and abroad ; the lineal descendant and rightful heir of so many kings and monarchs of Ireland ; of a race almost always its ornament and bulwark ; munificent patrons of arts and sciences ; favourers of the muses ; all that essentially grace and adorn human life ; champions of the faith ; protectors of the weak ; and unequivocal and unbending assertors of Irish rights ; Owen Roe O'Neal, the only true champion, the shield and right hand of Erin, is declared a rebel and a traitor ! This was hard treatment to those gallant Irish officers, who quitted foreign service, when promotions, honours, and honourable family alliances were open on the continent, to assist their countrymen in their late struggle for their liberties. Such an act of folly was fatal to Ireland ; by it, the confederates damned their cause, and surrendered themselves and their country into the hands of their enemies. They did that which the English Parliament, Cromwell, Coote, Ormond, and all the open and covert enemies of Ireland, wished. They delivered Sampson into the hands of the Philistines, and the latter took care to destroy the man who was the terror of all the popish and covenanting enemies of Ireland.

“ Sir Charles Coote, holding Derry for the parliament, and being sorely pressed for want of provisions, having sustained a long siege from the Lord of Ardes, who commanded the royalist army, contrived to send a messenger to O'Neal. Having heard of his being proclaimed a traitor and rebel, and knowing, consequently, that he must be distressed for money to pay his troops, he offered him a large sum, on the condition that O'Neal relieved him. Owen, indignant at the outrage offered to him and his brave troops, marched to raise the siege. The Lord of Ardes, not thinking it prudent to wait his arrival, departed from before Derry hastily. Owen Roe O'Neal was received with every appearance of friendship into the town. A ball and supper was prepared for

their distresses, and contributed indirectly to the overthrow of the hopes of the confederacy. Ormond besieges Dublin, and is repulsed with immense loss. The parliament of England turn their whole and undivided attention towards Ireland, the last refuge of the royal family. They send forward Cromwell, at the head of eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, with an ample supply of money, a formidable train of artillery, and all other necessities of war. Cromwell commenced his barbarous warfare in Ireland by the siege and the destruction of Drogheda. He basely butchered the inhabitants. After a promise of quarter to the brave defenders of the town, he permitted his fanatical soldiers to slaughter them, when stripped of their arms and

the entertainment of the deliverer of Derry; and he received a present of a pair of russet boots, in order to dance with a young lady who was particularly anxious to enjoy the honour of that diversion with the great man. Supper being ended, he danced with her and some others, until he fell into a prespiration, and was completely exhausted. He soon after retired to bed, fell sick, and in a few days expired. Whether the popular opinion of his having been presented with a pair of poisoned boots, be well founded, still rests on conjecture—yet I think the probabilities favour that opinion. Coote was a mortal enemy to Irish papists. He had engaged for a large sum, which perhaps he was unable to pay, and the general at the head of his forces could compel payment or make reprisals." Mr Taaffe concludes, that Coote conspired to destroy his great and powerful ally. We are unwilling to attribute the sudden death of Owen O'Neal, however formidable either his talents or power, to the cause suggested by Mr Taaffe. Coote was, at this period, most peculiarly interested in his safety; and the stupid denunciations of the Irish confederacy against O'Neal, were the best possible security for his fidelity.

incapable of defence. For five days this hideous and cowardly murder was continued, under the direct orders of this hypocritical Englishman; but thirty persons remained unslaughtered by an enemy glutted and oppressed with carnage; and Borlase says, that even these miserable thirty were transported as slaves to Barbadoes. Such were the effects of a policy dictated by the furious spirit of fanaticism, urged on by national hatred and contempt. With such facts before the contemplation of Ireland, will a rational Englishman wonder that an Irishman should give utterance to his political feelings in the language of the bitterest indignation—yet all this desperate and murderous violence of Cromwell would have availed but little, had it not been for the wretched divisions of the confederates. Even this dreadful calamity with which their country was now visited, was insufficient to induce them to the adoption of any manly generous principles of action. The wolf was suffered to prowl and continue his bloody course among the unprotected flock, while the drunken shepherds were either disputing about their booty, or perhaps speculating on the slaughter of each other. Cromwell went on, and vigorously took advantage of the folly which surrounded him; he artfully held out the hope of religious toleration; intrigued with the principal leaders among the Irish; and by force and stratagem succeeded in the capture of Wexford, Waterford, and Ross. The duplicity practised by Ormond on the people of Ireland was signally punished by their present indifference to the result of the

conflict between him and Cromwell ; well and truly did they say, that they saw but little difference between the cause of Charles and the English Parliament ; both promised freedom, civil and religious, and experience told them that the word of Ormond was not to be relied on.

Under such circumstances, and with a nation so disposed, the victory of Cromwell, at the head of a well organized army, undivided in sentiment, animated by the hope of plunder, and the zeal of bigotry, was as certain as it was easy. All the principal towns of Munster surrendered to his arms, (1650) and the cause of Charles in the west of Ireland seemed to be irretrievably blasted. Clonmel was the only place which could be considered a serious impediment to the triumphant career of Cromwell's arms. A very interesting and remarkable instance of individual heroism occurred there, which should not yield to the achievement of the Roman general ; and which, if performed in ancient days, would have enjoyed the immortality of a classic historian. Hugh O'Neal, a northern officer, with twelve hundred of his provincials, maintained the town with such valour, that on the first assault two thousand of the besiegers lost their lives. " The Romish bishop of Ross," says Mr Leland, " who was particularly active in raising and animating the besieged to this singular defence of their town, was taken prisoner in one of the assaults." A man so distinguished by his determination to resist the English depredators could expect but little mercy. His life, however, was offer-

ed him, on condition that he should use his spiritual authority with the garrison of a fort adjacent to the field of battle, and prevail on them to surrender. For this purpose the bishop of Ross was conducted to the fort ; but the gallant captive, unshaken by the fear of death, and unmoved by the denunciations of vengeance, exhorted the garrison to maintain their post resolutely against the enemies of their religion and their country, and instantly resigned himself to execution. Mr Leland observes, with honest indignation, that “ the bishop’s enemies could discover nothing in his conduct but insolence and obstinacy ;” yet such was the insolence of Regulus, whose name has been preserved by the Roman historian as an example of the most exalted courage and inflexible integrity. The page of Irish suffering affords a thousand subjects of equal admiration to the reader ; but the injustice which doomed the heroes of our country to deaths of dishonour, has also buried in oblivion their names ; and here and there only do we discern an attestation to the greatness of their spirit and their valour, extorted from the reluctant pen of a venal historian. Clonmel was at length obliged, after an obstinate and sanguinary siege, to yield to the terms of Cromwell. This last conquest closed the Irish campaign of Cromwell ; he resigned his triumphant army to the care of Ireton, and immediately embarked for England. It appears tolerably clear to the reader of these pages, that the great cause of Irish disaster was the want of confidence in the general who commanded them ; that when-

ever the Irish fought under the standard of such an officer as O'Neal, who possessed the hearts and affections of the people, victory crowned their valour; and that whenever they were obliged to surrender to superior numbers, or superior military resources, the enemy dearly purchased his triumph and his spoils.

The historians of the pale attribute the rapidity of Cromwell's progress to the factions of the Irish; to the intrigues of the priesthood; to their intolerant arrogance, and their ungovernable ignorance. The writer of this compendium must rather attribute the inglorious struggles of the Irish against the desperate and sanguinary sword of puritanical fanaticism, to the half expedients of Ormond, who endeavoured to balance himself between the king, the English parliament, and the Irish people; who had already, as we have seen, incurred the suspicions of the latter, and now laboured in vain to bring into action the various conflicting parties which struggled for ascendancy. The councils of such a man accelerated the progress of the common enemy, and palsied the Irish arm. Were it not for this cause, the Irish could, on the departure of Cromwell, have made a successful stand against England; they were still in possession of the entire province of Connaught; Waterford, Limerick and Galway, were in their hands; they possessed the forts of Duncannon and Sligo: the castles of Athlone, Charlemont, Carlow, and Nenagh; their numbers were considerable, and the spirit by which each Irish bosom was animated was

equal to any enterprize, however arduous or desperate. The brave Owen Roe O'Neal no longer existed to point out their road to victory. The loyal Marquis of Ormond, struggling more zealously for ascendancy over the Irish priesthood than for victory over the arms of Cromwell, was the ill-fated director of those energies which, judiciously and honestly guided, would never have been conquered. Even the wretched bigotry of Cromwell suspended its intolerance in the face of good and sagacious policy. The parliamentary generals offered that indulgence to conscience which was contumeliously refused by the loyal Ormond; and a man, whose sovereign depended on the allegiance and fidelity of the Irish, often refused that toleration which was granted by the hand that struggled for their destruction. An event now took place which peculiarly marks the sense of the Irish nation with regard to the claims of Ormond on their confidence. The Irish determined no longer to trust to the hollow and hypocritical professions of a man who had so often demonstrated his antipathy to their civil and religious liberty; they appealed in their present extremities to foreign powers, and resolved to trust to their own resources and their own councils. Ormond despaired of ever being able to establish his authority, when opposed by a power so audacious and so arrogant as he was pleased to represent the Irish clergy. It must often excite the astonishment of Mr Leland's readers to observe his perpetual and unceasing invectives against the Irish priesthood, in this great struggle for their religion

and their liberties. To an impartial and temperate observer it would occur, that the whole Catholic clergy of Ireland, not very remarkable for their ignorance or their want of spirit, would be anxious to submit to such councils as were best calculated to preserve the independence of their country, and the venerated creed of their forefathers. It would be reasonable to presume, that the collected wisdom, and learning, and spirit of the Irish clergy and laity, who so often differed in opinion with Ormond, were at least equal to the understanding of an individual, whose opportunities of information were no greater than those with whom he is compared; and whose motives to promote the liberties of Ireland were undoubtedly not stronger than those of the unmixed and unadulterated native Irish. Such presumptions, however reasonable, vanish before the infallible understanding and fidelity of Ormond. Mr Leland is perpetually complaining of the insidiousness by which his hero is assailed; of the ignorant obstinacy of the bigoted clergy of Ireland; of their presumption and the extravagance of their pride. The impartial observer of human nature wants no facts to contradict such silly invectives. They are too absurd even for the credulity of an enemy to swallow, and every man closes the chapter which thus degrades the character and the intellect of the Irish clergy, who at this calamitous period appear so forward in defence of their country, with a smile of contempt, or a sneer of suspicion. Those much reviled clergy determined to assemble and deliberate on the present alarming attitude of Irish

affairs. Those “ insolent ecclesiastics,” as Mr Leland calls them, “ did meet, in the year 1650, at a place called James-town, and felt it a duty which they owed to their religion as well as to their country, to consider whether that king, who had now proclaimed war against both, in order to gratify and conciliate the furious persecuting fanaticism of the Scotch, was deserving of their allegiance or their support, whether that king, or his favourite representative in Ireland, who had now determined to violate the peace which they solemnly concluded with the Irish, any longer merited their confidence or their fidelity. When Mr Leland arraigns the clergy of Ireland with the odious charges of “ presumption, faction, turbulence, fanaticism,” does he make full allowance for the causes which provoked that presumption and faction? Does he, with true historical candour, admit that a whole people, who were denounced by their king, would be undeserving the liberty for which they contended, if they did not give full expression to their indignation,* when Charles was degraded into the

* Mr Leland loses no opportunity of expressing his unlimited homage to the superior understanding and integrity of Ormond, as compared with the whole Irish nation. The disgraceful declaration against the Irish, signed by the king for the gratification of his Scotch subjects (Mr Leland writes), Ormond wished to regard as a forgery, and affected to treat it as such. Dr Curry, who is somewhat more industrious for the honour of Ireland, has unmasked Mr Leland's favourite, and has shown that Ormond was not only perfectly aware of the king's intention to sacrifice his Irish people, but actually advised such a policy; for Charles, in a letter to Ormond, dated January 16th, 1649, says, “ you

mean policy of signing the following declaration?

“ That he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; that he did detest and abhor all popery, superstition and idolatry, together with prelacy; resolving not to tolerate, much less to allow those in any part of his dominions, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power;

will perceive by my public letter, that I have resolved of a treaty with my subjects of Scotland, whereunto I was principally induced by that relation which Harry Seymour made to me from you of the state of things in Ireland.” Accordingly his Majesty, having agreed with the Scotch commissioners, left Breda, and arrived in Scotland on the 23d of June, 1650; but before they suffered him to land, they obliged him to sign both the covenants, national and solemn. Mr Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, gives the opinion of one of his Majesty’s own secretaries on the abominable want of principle and integrity exhibited by Charles II. in agreeing to the infamous Scotch declaration. His Majesty’s secretary thus writes:—“ When I consider this infamous declaration, which the Scots compelled the king to publish, and are still resolved to have his Majesty to make good, though not only all the king’s party, but even strangers that have any sense of honour or conscience, declaim against it, I cannot so much as hope, that they intend any good or safety to his Majesty, whom they have so wickedly and notoriously abused.” *January 15th, 1650—letter to the Marquis of Ormond.* Yet Mr Leland would impress on his readers, that his pure amiable favourite, Ormond, was perfectly unaware of the king’s determination; and that, to use the historian’s own language, “ nothing could be more convenient for the congregation of prelates, soon after assembled at James-town, and their purpose of inflaming the people, than this virulent declaration; they (poor deluded people) imputed it entirely to the representations of the Marquis of Ormond.” It is really surprising how shrewdly our countrymen sometimes guess who are their enemies and who are their friends.

and with regard to the peace lately concluded with the confederates, and confirmed by himself, he expressly pronounced it null and void, adding, " that he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it, and of allowing them (the confederates) the liberty of the popish religion ; for which he did from his heart desire to be humbled before the Lord, and for having sought unto such unlawful help for the restoring of him to the throne." Such were the honourable conditions on which the religious liberality of the Scotch agreed to co-operate with their sovereign for the recovery of his throne ; and such was the humiliation to which that unprincipled monarch stooped to conciliate the support of his enemies. In the mind of the impartial reader, such a declaration from Charles would not be a little calculated to rouse the apprehensions of the Irish clergy, who were now convened at Jamestown. But what should the feelings of Ireland be, when even her enemies blushed for the dishonour of the king ? When all his friends were seen to cover their faces, and commiserate the fate of that monarch who could have been reduced to so humiliating an act ? We cannot therefore agree with Mr Leland in deploring the extraordinary influence which the Irish clergy were able to exercise over the minds of their countrymen ; or that they were deaf to every summons but from those men who were honestly interested for the fate of their religion and their freedom.

Mr Leland's observations are peculiarly strong, and are so often echoed in the time we now live in,

that it may not be useless to quote the passage, and to request at the same instant that the reader will not forget the peculiar circumstances we have above described, when he is reading it. "But the ignorance of the vulgar," writes Mr Leland, "had stamped such a degree of reverence and authority on the ecclesiastical character, that the dictates of the meanest of this order were superior to all power, civil and military." What man, protestant, presbyterian, or catholic, can conscientiously deplore the veneration which the poor Irishman feels for his ecclesiastical instructor? The readers of this history will hear those complaints only from the enemies of the civil and religious liberty of the Irish people; and will admit that every friend to that liberty estimates the progress of virtue and morality among the people, in proportion to the degree of veneration in which they hold the sacred profession of their religion. In this instance, as in all that we have seen, the clergy were prompt in the execution of their duty. Their king had basely surrendered them to the sanguinary prejudices of the Scotch. He violated his faith with a people who were shedding their blood in his cause, and, from the meanest motives, consigned them over to the murderers of his father. With such a scene before him, Mr Leland writes that "Ormond was unable to suppress his disdain of so contemptible a faction as the catholic clergy of Ireland!"

True to the people, those venerated ecclesiastics convened a meeting at James-town, and took the king's conduct into consideration. They agreed

to a declaration that Ormond, the king's lieutenant, was no longer deserving of Irish confidence. Their language was the true picture of their wounded and abused feelings—strong, decided, ingenuous. “Our king,” say these honest men, “has cast away his Irish nation from his bosom; he has lamented and broken the peace which he had made with his people;—are we to be bound by a peace which he solemnly disclaims? Let us go back to our oath of association; let us recur to our original confederacy, and instead of fighting in support of a treaty thus disowned by our monarch, let us bravely hazard our lives and fortunes to extort more favourable articles from the enemy.” This was the language of a manly integrity, which knew no double ways to victory; which could not comprehend the mental reservations and state tricks of Ormond; and this is the language and the conduct which Mr Leland has been pleased to brand with the epithets of faction, turbulence, fanaticism, &c. &c. Ormond's intriguing resources were now almost exhausted, and he determined to retire from a scene in which he could no longer succeed by his practices of deceit and hypocrisy.

In those days the catholics had their *moderate* advisers, who saw no danger in negotiating with fraud, nor in compromising with insincerity; those moderate men still had confidence in Charles and Ormond, and would still be loyal to the hand that promised to shed their blood. Those moderate catholics commiserated the prejudices of their fellow-countrymen, which would not suffer them to see

protection in treachery, truth in falsehood, and the most enlightened liberality in the most unwearied bigotry. They struggled and remonstrated in favour of Ormond ; but this good man was obliged to surrender to general indignation, and to leave that country which his insidious policy had nearly ruined. The clergy drew up and signed an excommunication against all such catholics "as should enlist under, feed, help, or adhere to his excellency, or assist him with men and money, or any other supplies whatsoever." This instrument was signed on the 12th of August 1650 : it was published with the usual formalities on the 15th of September of the same year : thus, says the estimable Dr Curry, "adopting the only expedient calculated to protect their religious liberty, lives, and fortunes." On the 15th of November 1650, a general assembly was convened at Loughrea ; and though the historians of the pale are pleased to say that this assembly, composed of the principal nobility and gentry of fortune and interest in the kingdom, came to resolutions disapprobatory of the conduct of the bishops at James-town ; it will be found, on a reference to the actual proceedings of this assembly, that the acts of the bishops were fully, fearlessly, and unequivocally confirmed. "An instrument," says Dr Curry, "was drawn up by this assembly, wherein they declared, that neither the Lords Spiritual nor Temporal, gentry nor people, clergy nor laity, had power to discharge the nation from that due and perfect obedience to his Majesty's authority vested in the Marquis Clanrickard, and that in

case of any such act or endeavours, no persons should or ought to be led thereby, but that, for their disobedience on any such grounds, they were subject to the heavy censures and penalties of the laws of the land ; but to this is added, (and let the violaters of solemn treaties attend to it), that this obedience was not intended to be paid to any person that should be appointed chief governor, who had joined in the covenant, or should violate the articles of peace." Upon this declaration, Lord Clanrickard was prevailed upon to accept the government, and Ormond departed for France.

We have thought it necessary to devote so much to the vindication of the Irish clergy against the interested slanders of a distinguished historian, to demonstrate that those men who have been so cruelly branded with the opprobrious names of factious and fanatical priests, have, in the instance before us, been the last and unconquerable refuge of their country's liberty and religion. We have endeavoured to condense that evidence which convicts the calumniator, and establishes the claims of injured innocence. The Irish were now headed by a man who enjoyed their confidence. The Marquis of Ormond brought along with him a number of distinguished protestant officers, who were attached to his lordship ; and the single circumstance of his successor being a catholic, most naturally caused a separation of the two religions in a more distinct manner than heretofore. It is impossible not to observe the reluctance with which the protestant portion of Ireland yielded even to that ne-

cessity which bound them for some time together in the common cause of their king. The Lord Inchiquin embarked with Ormond. The conduct of the king and Ormond had so completely destroyed all confidence in any royal professions, that it is not to be wondered that the poor people of Ireland should seek refuge in the arms even of the parliamentarians, who now offered that toleration which was denied by their sovereign. Such a proposition, however reasonable in their present reduced state, was rejected by the majority of the Irish leaders; and the spirit of the country, not yet wholly extinguished, turned its attention towards the practicability of obtaining the interposition of some foreign power in this hour of their distress. They determined, therefore, that the bishop of Ferns, their most active partizan, should be sent to Brussels to solicit the Duke of Lorraine to take their nation and religion under his princely protection. So low were the hopes of the Marquis Clanrickard, that he could not affect any considerable opposition to the progress of the parliamentarians without the aid of a foreign power, that even he was inclined to listen to, and encourage a negociation with the Duke of Lorraine; and Clanrickard, in his letter to the Marquis of Ormond, states his reason why such a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine would be attended with the greatest advantages to the royal cause. "But no sooner," writes Clanrickard, "had the Irish understood that the Duke of Lorraine's ambassador had arrived in Ireland, with offers of powerful assistance for the preservation of the catholic religion.

and of his majesty's subjects' interest, than they took much comfort and encouragement thereby, hoping that the rebels' power might be exposed; and soon after the towns of Limerick and Galway, and all other places yet in his majesty's obedience, seemed more cheerfully than before to assist his majesty's authority in opposing the rebels." Upon this change in the temper of the people, Clanrickard gave his countenance to the immediate negotiation of a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine.

Mr Leland is peculiarly angry at the anxiety manifested by the Irish people to court the protection and aid of a foreign power. Mr Leland, knowing the calamities and desperate situation to which the Irish people were now reduced, should have had the candour to admit, that to seek for such foreign aid as would possibly rescue them from their present distressing embarrassments, was the wisest and the honestest counsel which could have been suggested; and that such interference ought to be solicited at the hazard of the eternal interests of the monarch who had already abandoned them to their bitterest enemies. But the Irish did not go so far. They still held fast by that loyal principle which so much distinguished them; and even the treason of Charles to their country did not obliterate the impressions of an old veneration for his family.

The Marquis of Ormond would not only have recommended an alliance with the Duke of Lorraine, but he would advise that overtures should be made even to his holiness the pope, for that relief which

no protestant crowned head could now afford. "To come shortly," says he, in a letter to Clanrickard, "to what I would be at, wherein you may be concerned, I conceive some one must be found that hath power, if not with all, yet with most Christian princes and states. Among the protestants there is none such, and among the Roman catholics it is visible that the pope has the most of authority and persuasion; and it shall be, without scruple, my advice, and that speedily, that fitting ministers may be sent, and apt inducements proposed to him for his interposition with all the princes and states."

The terms of the treaty, as proposed by the Duke of Lorraine, were so extravagant, that Clanrickard preferred the alternative of his own unaided efforts in support of the royal cause. The negociation, however, continued until events in Ireland rendered any terms, however favourable, perfectly unavailing; the arms of the parliamentarians made a rapid progress, and almost every place of strength had submitted to their power. The treachery of an Irish officer, of the name of Fennell, opened the gates of Limerick to a merciless enemy, and the most prominent among the Irish in their zeal against the English, were sacrificed to the fury of the conquering army; Galway alone remained to the Irish. In this last refuge Clanrickard took shelter with the mutilated army. Ireton, the English general, one of the fanatical scourges of the Irish, fell a victim to disease, while besieging the town of Galway. The dreadful denunciations of

vengeance issued by the leaders of the parliamentary army, rendered it a question of prudence no longer to irritate a power which could not be successfully opposed, and the inhabitants of Galway opened their gates to the enemy. Clanrickard flew to the north of Ireland, where he struggled to rally the scattered partizans of royalty. He at length took advantage of an offer made by the English general, who permitted him to depart from Ireland with the three thousand troops which remained of the royal army; and well may we say with Mr Leland,—*but not in the spirit of his application*—that “he retired from a country lost to his royal master by illiberal bigotry, frantic pride, the blindness of men intoxicated by an imaginary consequence—their senseless factions and incorrigible perverseness in contending against their own interest, and rejecting every measure necessary for their own security.” Truly may it be written, that the desperate bigotry of Ormond, the unprincipled ambition of Charles, and the total want of a decided system of policy always directed to the candid support of the religious and civil liberties of the Irish, contributed in an eminent degree to the destruction of that king who might have ever found an inexhaustible resource in the gratitude and sensibility of the Irish heart.

The Marquis of Clanrickard thus abandoned Ireland to the fury of the English rebels; and thus, “in a few months,” observes Borlase, “the usurpers got possession of such a country as Ireland with as much ease as if they had merely to conquer

a county. Such a winter's campaign, and by so inconsiderable a party against so considerable a kingdom, was never read or heard of, and is abundant evidence of the complete inutility of numbers and of spirit, when divisions are suffered to exist amongst those who should be united, and the leader who should possess the confidence of the people, chances to be an object of general suspicion."—There was a barbarous decision in the character of Cromwell, which would not stop at universal extermination, if such a determination was necessary to the carrying any object of his ambition. Dalrymple, in his "Memoirs of Great Britain," says, that Cromwell, in order to get free of his enemies, did not scruple to transport forty thousand Irish from their own country, to fill all the armies in Europe with complaints of his cruelty, and admiration of their own valour.

One hundred and seventy years have nearly elapsed since Ireland experienced this scene of barbarous devastation. The policy was cruel, but there was one feature of humanity still to be discovered in such desperate tyranny;—it put an end to the victim; it did not preserve his existence to perpetuate his sufferings; it did not inflict the agonizing torture of that feverish being which our ancestors were doomed to suffer under the slow fire of the penal code. This was the progeny of an ingenuity which emulated the despotism of Cromwell, and consumed the heart, while it preserved the body of the wretched and unpitied sufferer. Yet our readers will now see with what philosophic insensibi-

lity and speculating barbarity an English writer delivers his opinions on the present sufferings of the devoted Irish. "It cannot be imagined," writes Lord Clarendon, "in how easy a method, and with what peaceable formality, the whole kingdom of Ireland was taken from the just owners and proprietors, and divided among those *who had no other right to it but that they had power to keep it*. In less than two years after Lord Clanrickard left Ireland, the new government seemed perfectly established ; insomuch that there were many buildings for ornament as well as use, orderly and regular plantations of trees, fences, and inclosures, raised throughout the kingdom ; purchases made by one from the other at very valuable rates ; and jointures settled on marriages, and all the conveyances and settlements executed as in a kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles." This peaceful and gratifying picture, in the view of an English writer, more than compensates for all the varied and infinite calamity which the expatriated Irish must have endured. The cries and tears of the persecuted millions of our countrymen are no longer heard, amidst the sweet harmony of English contractors. The Irish were a barbarous people, and should be sacrificed to the fanatical soldiers of Cromwell. With such facts before the reflection of Ireland, will an Englishman wonder that his country is viewed with suspicion and jealousy ? or will an English government hesitate to adopt that course of conduct by Ireland, which will induce her to bury in

eternal oblivion those dreadful records which make so powerful an appeal to their vengeance?

A very singular measure of cruelty and violence was now adopted by the English rebels, Cromwell and his council, to complete, as they were pleased to say, the tranquillity of Ireland. Notwithstanding the thousands that were destroyed by the sword, and the thousands that were driven with their beggared families to roam through the unpitied world, there still remained a large portion of the native Irish, whom Cromwell and his council thought it necessary to dispose of. There was a large track of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and large river, and which, by the plague and many massacres, remained almost desolate. Into this space and circuit of land Cromwell required all the native Irish to retire by a certain day, under the penalty of death; and all who, after that time, should be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, might be killed by any body who saw or met them. They were not only driven into this barren country to linger out a miserable existence, but they were forced, at the point of the bayonet, to sign releases of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in consideration of what was now assigned them; that so they should for ever bar themselves and their heirs from laying claim to their old inheritance. It would be supposed by the reader of these pages, who has seen the inflexible fidelity of the Irish people to the fortunes and cause of Charles, that this monarch

would not have forgotten the loyalty of those who stood by him in the extremity of his greatest distress; that he would not send forth their children to the wilderness, who had shed their blood in his defence;—yet what is the fact?—That this infamous and ungrateful monarch agreed that one of the conditions of his restoration to the crown of his father should be, that the plundered people of Ireland should never be restored to their properties. Here was the royal reward for the fidelity and allegiance of Ireland; and here was the plan of civilization on which Englishmen acted, and by which they were to introduce the laws and privileges of a free constitution.

Courts of justice were appointed, whose sanguinary decrees suggested the name of “Cromwell’s slaughter-houses.” These infamous tribunals were erected under the pretext of bringing to justice the promoters of, and actors in, the rebellion of 1641; but the real object was the confiscation of property, and the destruction of the Irish. The feelings of humanity, and the principles, were boastingly trampled on. To be cruel to the Irish was to be humane and religious; to plunder their properties, and beggar their children, was to enrich the godly and disseminate the gospel. Thus would the rapacious destroyer insult the justice of Omnipotence by the hypocritical adoption of his word; and the religion which was intended to give peace and security to mankind, was made the instrument of desolation and barbarity. The Marquis of Ormond, in his place in parliament, drew a faithful picture of those tribunals to which English fanati-

cism gave birth in the time of the commonwealth. "What less misery could be expected at a time when all distinctions of right and wrong were confounded and lost in those of power and importance; when the noblest acts of loyalty received the judgment due to the foulest treason;—due to the unrighteous judges who pronounced it without authority in the persons, or justice in the sentence; when the benches were crowded and oppressed with the throng and wicked weight of those that ought rather to have stood manacled at the bar; when such was the bold contempt, not only of the essentials, but also the very formalities of justice, that they gave no reason for taking away men's estates, but that *they were Irish papists*; when all men were liable to the entanglement of two edged oaths, from the conflicts raised by them in men's breasts between conscience and expediency—between the prostitution of their conscience and the ruin of their fortunes; than which, a harder and more tyrannical choice could not be obtruded on Christians. For here the election was not, swear thus against your conscience, or you shall have no part in the civil government, no office in the army, or benefice in the church—but, swear thus, or you shall have no house to put your head in, no bread to sustain yourselves, your wives and children." A writer cotemporary with those tragical events, (Morrison) strains his memory for examples of such relentless barbarity as was now exhibited in Ireland. "Neither the Israelites," he says, "were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent

infants by Herod, nor the Christians by Nero, nor any of the other pagan tyrants, than were the Roman catholics of Ireland at this fatal juncture, by Cromwell's savage commissioners; and the same price (five pounds Sterling) was set by the commissioners on the head of a Romish priest, as on that of a wolf, the number of which was then very considerable in Ireland; and although the profession or character of a Romish priest could not, one would think, be so clearly ascertained as the species of wolf, by the mere inspection of their heads thus severed from their bodies; yet the bare asseveration of the beheaders, was, in both cases, equally credited and rewarded by those commissioners, so inveterate was their malice and hatred to that order of men." It may now be fairly asked the declaimers against the insatiable despotism of the catholic inquisition, do they not here see the account of blood between the dissenters from the catholic religion and the catholics, most strictly balanced? and do not the persecutors of conscience also see the insanity of that zeal, which will not suffer the human mind to follow the creed, and profess the doctrine which it considers the best, and which is not incompatible with the peace and tranquillity of society? The present day mourns the effects of the follies it laughs at; and the mild and healing sentiment of toleration is now closing the wounds which fanaticism has so long kept open.

In a compendium of Irish history, it would be a departure from the intention and the object of the writer, to set down every instance of individual suf-

fering and oppression with which Irish history so constantly overflows ; neither the understanding nor the heart derives much improvement from this accurate parade of human misfortune and human atrocity. Perhaps, as it was beautifully expressed by the eloquent and pathetic Curran, in one of the finest passages that ever issued from human genius, the real state of our country, and particularly in the melancholy hour of calamity we are now arrived at, is more forcibly impressed on the attention of the reader by a particular, than it ever could be by any general description. " When you endeavour," says Curran, " to convey an idea of a great number of barbarians, practising a great variety of cruelties upon an incalculable number of sufferers, nothing defined or specific finds its way to the heart, nor is any sentiment extorted, save that of general, erratic, unappropriated commiseration." True ; the misfortunes of an individual find refuge in every bosom. The misfortunes of a nation are too widely diffused ; the surface of human suffering is too extended ; the sensibility of the spectator is lost in the immensity of the scene he has to contemplate, and he closes the recital of murders, and rapes, and robberies, with less sympathy than he would view the fracture of a limb, or the plunder of a cabin. In the wild and wanton devastation which the commissioners of Cromwell were making through every part of this devoted country, it is difficult to select one instance of barbarous injustice greater than another. Among those persons who were brought before the iniquitous tribunal created by Cromwell,

was Sir Phelim O'Neal, one of the most distinguished leaders in the rebellion of 1641. The great object of O'Neal's judges was to make him the instrument of their vengeance against the character of the monarch whom they had murdered ; for which purpose they offered him his life and estates, on condition of his confessing that the instrument which he had forged as a commission from Charles to levy forces and money for the insurrection, was *bona fide* the genuine act of the king, and not an imposition practised by the ingenuity of Sir Phelim O'Neal on the credulity of the Irish people. Even the ashes of the murdered Charles, fanaticism would not suffer to rest in peace ; but the heroism and truth of Sir Phelim O'Neal could not be terrified by the menaces of death ; for at the place of execution, and after he had mounted the ladder, when an offer of his large estates and life were made him by Ludlow, on the condition of criminating the memory and character of the king, he calmly and firmly replied, " I thank the lieutenant for his mercy ; but I declare, good people, before God and his angels, and all you that hear me, that I never had any commission from the king for what I have done in levying and prosecuting this war." Mr Leland represents this man, who acted thus when standing on the verge of eternity, as a monster of cruelty and disloyalty ; on the other hand, Mr Carte, in his life of Ormond, writes, that Sir Phelim O'Neal had not the character of being an ill-natured man. " In this charitable character," says our honest countryman Dr Curry, " I am apt to consider this unfortunate gentleman ; but when I com-

pare the behaviour of Sir Phelim O'Neal, in his last moments, with that of his judges, I am at a loss to determine which should be deemed greater, the heroism of the former, or the villany of the latter. The murderers of the unfortunate Charles wanted some justification of their conduct, which now began to tell against them. It was not the crimes of Sir Phelim O'Neal which brought him to trial; it was the hope that he would sacrifice his sovereign to the preservation of his life and property, and thus vindicate the act which had so much astonished and disgusted the world."

The sword and the law had now nearly performed their office. The spirit of the country was broken down. Its heart sunk within its bosom, and the eye of pity had one unchequered scene of dreary desolation to wander over. The child was torn from the parent, the wife from the husband; all were scattered by the rapacious spirit of fanaticism; and the ancient rank and venerated blood of Ireland were now to be found in the performance of the most humiliating occupations—the slaves of English and Scotch adventurers. Well might the English Parliament, in 1655, declare that now the rebels in Ireland were subdued and the rebellion ended;—that now they might securely proceed to a distribution of the Irish lands. It was therefore determined, that the whole kingdom should be surveyed, and the number of acres taken, with the quality of them; and then that all the soldiers should bring in their demands of arrears, and to give every man, by lot, as many acres as should

answer the value of his demand. The proposal was agreed to ; and all Ireland being surveyed, the best land was only rated at four shillings, and some only at a penny. The soldiers drew lots in what part of the kingdom their portions should be assigned them. The lands so divided amounted to 605,670 acres. Lord Clarendon says that Cromwell reserved for the aggrandizement of his own family the entire of the rich and fertile province of Munster. The administration of Henry Cromwell gave some respite to the sufferings of Ireland ; he often hesitated to put into execution the sanguinary mandates of his father's government ; and the Irish, under his protection, frequently found shelter from the pursuits of fanaticism and rapacity. We shall close our history of Ireland during the commonwealth, with the relation of an event, as given us by Dr Curry. The reader may, in this picture, estimate the blessings enjoyed by the Irish people, during the sanguinary existence of Cromwell and his republican associates. It is a powerful illustration of the absurdity of religious persecution, and exhibits the cowardice of the persecutor in the wretched meanness of his revenge.

“ In these days,” says Dr Curry, “ the name of an Irishman and rebel was thought to signify the same thing ; for whenever the Cromwellians met any of the poor country people abroad, or discovered them lurking from their fury in dens and caverns, they killed them on the spot, if some unusual or whimsical circumstance did not happen to save them. Thus Ludlow tells us, that being on his

march, an advanced party found two of the rebels, 'one of whom,' says he, 'was killed by the guard before I came up; the other was saved, and being brought before me, I asked him if he had a mind to be hanged, and he only answered, *if you please.*' At another time, Ludlow says, he found some poor people retired within a hollow rock, which was so thick that he thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to reduce them by smoke. After some of his men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within, by fire placed at the mouth of the cave; they withdrew the fire, and the next morning, supposing the Irish to be made incapable of resistance by the smoke, some of them crawled into the rock, but one of the Irish, with a pistol, shot the first of his men; by which he found the smoke had not taken the desired effect, because, though a great smoke went into the cavity of the rock, yet it came out again at other crevices; upon which he ordered those places to be closely stopped, and another smoke to be made: and the fire was continued until midnight, then taken away, that the place might be cool enough for his men to enter the next morning; at which time they went in, armed with back, breast, and head-pieces, found the man who had fired the pistol dead, put about fifteen to the sword, and brought four or five out alive, with the priests' robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture of that kind, but no arms. Those within preserved themselves by laying their heads close to a waterfall that ran through a rock. We found two rooms

in the place, one of which was large enough to turn a pike."

The reflection of Dr Curry, on this wretched scene of cowardly barbarity and mean revenge, is worthy of the head and the heart of this most valuable writer. "Such," says Dr Curry "were the enemies whose lives those gallant regicides were incessantly hunting after; a score of despoiled people lurking in caverns from the fury of their pursuers, and furnished but with one pistol to guard the entrance of their hiding-place. From the character of these barbarians, we may well believe, though Ludlow does not mention it, that these four or five wretches whom they brought alive out of the rock, soon after met with the fate of their companions." Wretched indeed are such triumphs to those who have the misfortune to boast of them; and disastrous must that period be to the ill-fated native Irishman, which exhibited the sanguinary fanatical republicans of England, thus sporting with human blood, and pursuing the brave and unbending Irishman with as much fury as they would the ourang-outang, or the tyger. Such a fact, coming from one of the most distinguished leaders among the fanatical partizans of Cromwell, is a faithful picture of the misery which Ireland experienced during this age of remorseless English despotism. Is the heart of the reader to be relieved hereafter by a cessation of Irish suffering? Alas! every page presents its scene of persecution; and the hand for which they have hitherto endured such cruel privations, will be hereafter seen striking the blow

which it was its duty to have averted. The petty tyrants of Cromwell will be forgotten in the base and unprincipled ingratitude of the monarch whom Ireland served with fidelity, and the torture of the bayonet will be found to give way to the more ingenious and more protracted torture of the law. Yet an Englishman has wondered that Ireland is not partial to the connection which has thus driven her to madness.—An Englishman has wondered that Ireland should writhe under the lash, or burn under the faggot; he has smiled at that obstinacy which the Irishman calls fidelity, and has deplored the errors of that judgment which the Irishman dignifies with the name of conscience. Thank God, a better feeling has arisen. The Englishmen of the present day begin to appreciate the Irish character with more justice and a profounder sagacity—they estimate his loyalty in proportion to his attachment to the faith of his fathers, and repose their confidence in his honour, in proportion to the courage and the firmness with which he has repelled the temptations of corruption, or the threats of power.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHARLES II.

A. D. 1660. **T**HE reader of the foregoing pages must have long since been wearied with the dismal narrative of suffering which we have endeavoured to detail, and which we have struggled to condense into the smallest number of facts that the nature of our work would permit. There has been but little respite from exasperating oppression and unmerited cruelty. The eye wanders over a dreary scene of desolation without a single point on which it can rest; the heart of the philanthropist sinks under a hopeless despondency, and passively yields to the unchristian and impious reflection, that the poor people of Ireland are a devoted race, whom Providence has abandoned to the malignant ingenuity of an insatiable enemy. It would have been reasonable to suppose that the cup of misfortune was completely filled; that the enemy was exhausted in their efforts to torture and to destroy; that

the unhappy native, despoiled and hunted into the desert, would have been suffered at least to exist, the wretched monument of human change, and the living evidence of human malignity. Hitherto the Irishman has been persecuted by the fanatic and the plunderer. Hitherto the struggle was with the English adventurer, who would wade through the blood of Irishmen to the possession of Irish property. Hitherto the Irish had to contend with a rapacious enemy, from whom no mercy was to be expected or received. The reign of Charles II., however, throws an ingredient into the cup of Irish misfortune, which the ingenuity of ancient tyranny did not discover; which makes the memory of Charles II. rank higher in the annals of infamy, than Nero or Caligula; and which is only to be equalled by the stupid credulity with which a nation so treated has clung to the memory of the most despicable monarch that ever occupied the throne of Great Britain.

The reader has not forgotten the inflexible fidelity with which the Irish people stood by the house of Stuart in all their varied calamity. He has not forgotten the royal promises which were so lavishly poured forth, of indemnification for the past, and security for the future. He does not forget the honest and indignant ardour with which the murderers of Charles I. were pursued by the Irish people, until the fraudulent councils of such friends as Ormond broke their spirit, dissolved their union, and sowed division and distrust in every bosom. The arm of Ireland was still held out to her injured

monarch ; it maintained his honour and his fame in the ranks of foreign armies ; France, Spain, and Germany bore attestation to the sincerity and truth of her loyalty. At home, the Irish are hunted into the recesses of their mountains by the fanatical regicides of England ; abroad they are supporting their sovereign, sharing in his privations, the cheerful partner of his sufferings, and the never desponding advocates of his fortune. What was the reward for this Irish fidelity, which never could be shaken in the most violent tempest of Charles's adversity ? What was the return which was made by the monarch of England to the most active and enthusiastic instruments of his restoration ? Posterity will scarcely credit that the innocent and deserving people of Ireland were sacrificed by Charles to the suggestions of that abandoned policy which insidiously told him, that he should rob and beggar his most faithful allies the Irish people, in order to conciliate the murderers of his father. It will not be credited, that the Cromwellians, who hunted this monarch through Europe, who thirsted for his blood, who brought his best friends to the block or the gallows, should be the very men who found refuge under his patronage, and enjoyed fortune and station under his government. Clarendon, an artful and avaricious minister, prompted this odious determination, and the vicious indolence of the monarch embraced it. We have seen the rapid progress of Cromwellian devastation during the commonwealth. In possession of all the strong positions through the country, with the accumulated

treasures of successful robbery, they corrupted the monarch and minister with their gold, while they intimidated the disarmed nation with their sword. Charles was advised to accept the proffered bribe; and the infamous bargain which sacrificed a loyal and faithful people, was cheerfully struck by the royal hand.

Soon after the restoration of Charles, Sir Charles Coote, now Earl of Montrath, sent forward commissioners to his majesty with a large present of money, accompanied with professions of loyalty and attachment. These commissioners, whose presence would have insulted a monarch of integrity, were Lord Broghill, Sir Audley Mervin, and Sir John Clotworthy; men distinguished, as we have seen, for their inveterate hostility to his father and to himself during the rebellion. The power they enjoyed in Ireland, and their command of money, counterbalanced all considerations in the royal breast drawn from their past disloyalty. "Lord Broghill, now Earl of Orrery," writes Lord Clarendon in his own memoirs, "appeared so very generous and disinterested, that he obtained immediate credit from his majesty; and having free access to the king, by mingling apologies for what he had done, with promises of what he would do, he made himself so acceptable to his majesty, that he heard him willingly; because he made all things easy to be done and compassed, and gave such assurances to the bed-chamber men, to help them to good fortunes in Ireland, which they had reason to despair of in England, that he wanted not their testimony on all

occasions, nor their defence and vindication when any thing was urged to his disadvantage." To surround the throne with the bribed advocates of their usurpation was an artful and efficient stroke of policy. The praises of the bed-chamber men in favour of those Cromwellian despoilers of the Irish, who thus flattered them with a participation in the plunder, drowned the cries of Ireland, and blocked up the avenues to royal mercy or royal justice. The act of oblivion granted to English rebels what was refused to Irish loyalists. The king *nobly* and *generously* excepted the Catholics of Ireland.— Yet, this determination was not the hasty or precipitate mistake of a man anxious to adopt the quickest and most immediate mode of establishing his power, without any consideration of the violation of moral feeling. Charles, before he flung away his Irish people, had often revolved in his mind their past fidelity and sufferings in his cause. Even before those very ministers, Clarendon and Ormond, by whose councils he was ultimately directed, he has often called to their recollection the obligations he owed to his people of Ireland. In his speech to parliament, alluding to the bill of amnesty, he said "that he hoped the Irish alone would not be excluded from his mercy; that they had shewn him much affection, and that he expected the parliament would have a care of his honour, and of what he had promised them." From such words it would be supposed that gratitude still found a place in the royal bosom; yet what was the result? the cold, calculating, frozen

feeling of Clarendon gained the ascendancy ; and the degrading advice which told him to neglect his friends who would not therefore injure him, and reward his enemies who might be troublesome, was meanly followed by Charles. France, in whose lap this vicious monarch dissipated a considerable portion of his time during his exile, must have smiled at the success with which she corrupted the heart of the royal guest. Europe must have contemplated Charles with indignation and with contempt ; and the very people whom he governed, and to whose prejudices and avarice he thus basely ministered, sanguinely speculated on the practicability of triumphing in the struggle with a monarch who thus volunteered in his own degradation. The Irish Cromwellians succeeded in influencing Charles to issue a proclamation against the people of Ireland, grounded on the rumours of plots and conferences which they artfully circulated : the same proclamation gave the royal protection to all military adventurers who were but a few months back arrayed in arms against the claims and the rights of Charles. The Cromwellians thus succeeded in preserving their power in all the towns of Ireland. They could select the representations as they pleased, and command the voice of parliament according to their wishes. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy, were the condition of legal protection ; and as Dr Curry justly observes, in order to have the entire division of the spoil among themselves, and for ever to preclude the catholics from having any share even in their debates about it, one of the first.

resolutions of the first parliament assembled after the restoration, was, "that no members should be qualified to sit in that house, but such as had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. With the same view of banishing the catholic peers from the house of lords, primate Bramhall, the speaker, procured an order to be passed there, that all the members thereof should receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper from his grace's own hands." To such vile and predatory purposes was one of the most awful institutions of religion prostituted at that juncture. But in no other parliament but one so constituted and perverted, could acts alienating the just property of almost all the catholics in the kingdom, be expected to pass.

We have seen that the catholics of Ireland were particularly excepted by Charles in his act of indemnity, and that this was done with the approbation of Ormond. The reason which this nobleman gave for this act of kindness to the Irish nation, perfectly accords with that insidious and abandoned policy which hitherto distinguished him. "If," says Ormond, "I had not opposed the motion for including the Irish in the general pardon, others undoubtedly would ; who by exaggerating their former misconduct, would have excited rather the parliament's indignation against them, than commiseration for their case." This, no doubt, was a most kind consideration, and peculiarly well marked with all the fraudulent character of the speaker ; yet, (as Mr Carte, in his life of this nobleman, observes,) "as Ormond was a witness of every year's conduct

during the troubles, he was well acquainted with all the circumstances of their case: he knew better than any other man the early attempts which the most considerable of their nobility and gentry made to return to their duty; the difficulties they had to struggle with in that walk; the perseverance with which they pursued their design, till they had accomplished it, and the zeal with which, in the king's distress, they had embraced the peace of 1648." Though Ormond could have borne such an attestation, yet he had some sound special reasons for a contrary conduct. Were the catholics of Ireland vindicated by him, he could not perhaps calculate on the possession of the vast estates of which he plundered them; he might, by striking to the avaricious fanaticism of the Cromwellians, reasonably calculate on the confirmation and extension of that property which so copiously flowed into his lap from the wounds of Ireland; he therefore joined in the general calumny, and as we will hereafter see, was the immediate instrument of the remorseless persecution of the Irish clergy.

Charles now proceeded to establish the settlement of the kingdom of Ireland, and as he consulted his old enemies, when to include the catholics in the proclamation of pardon was the question, so do we find him now in council with the chief plunderers of the Irish, when the question arises of adjusting the claims and settling the property of his loyal Irish subjects. What the result would be to Ireland may easily be anticipated, when Lord Broghill, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir Arthur

Mervin, were the distributors of justice. We may quickly conclude what would be the measure of mercy or equity to the ill-fated catholic. Under the direction of such heads and such hearts, the royal declaration for the settlement of Ireland was framed and published. We shall not disgust the reader by the painful recital: it is sufficient to say, that ingratitude of the blackest feature, and hypocrisy of the most impudent character, distinguished every article of the royal document. Irishmen are industriously sacrificed to the aggrandizement of the very hands which shed the blood of Charles' father. The London adventurers who advanced their money on the mortgage of Irish misfortune, have precedency of the men who shared in all the royal sufferings, and supported the king under all his afflictions. Thus were the great majority of the Irish people robbed by the royal order, and exposed to the contemptuous pity of the regicides of England. Ormond, however, during this solemn mockery of justice, took good care of himself. He procured his restoration to the Irish estates by an act of the English parliament: he and Lord Inchiquin were specially protected. A provision was made, in the royal declaration, for the settlement of Ireland, for thirty-six of the Irish nobility to be restored to their properties on the same terms with those who served his Majesty when on the continent. That this declaration of Charles for the settlement of Ireland should have excited indignation and revenge in every Irish bosom, is not to be wondered at. That the poor worn-out soldier, who

had shed his blood, and sacrificed his property in defence of his monarch, should be seen shedding tears over that infamous ingratitude which thus abandoned him and his children to his enemies, will be admitted by every man who knows the human heart, to be a likely and a probable scene in this melancholy period of Ireland's sufferings. Every eye was turned to that meeting of the Irish parliament which was to confirm or to reject this act of royal turpitude. It was supposed that some sparks of honour might still be found in either house of legislature, which might be kindled by discussion into a generous flame; and that at least the old peerage of Ireland would not suffer their venerated names and their noble blood to be trampled on by the voracious reptiles which crept into parliament, and which we may say rose into existence, from the miseries of Irishmen. The Earl of Kildare, with other Irish peers, did come forward in the Lords, and did assert the superior claims of the Irish to royal protection. The mushroom products of calamity shrunk into their native insignificance: the earl pointed out the gross injustice of the royal declaration; the infamous violation of public and private faith: he appealed to the widows and the orphans who crowded the streets of Dublin, and whose claims the royal declaration must extinguish, in evidence of the cruelty on which the king had grounded his declaration. Constituted as the Irish parliament then was, such an opposition, however supported by truth and sound reasoning, must be feeble and impotent. The bill of settlement, in confirmation

of the royal declaration which we have already described, was at length prepared, passed, and presented to the lords justices; it was transmitted by those lords commissioned by the council, while each house of parliament nominated their agents to attend the king and council in England, and to solicit the immediate passing of the bill. London was now the great theatre on which the property and comfort of Irishmen were about to be decided. Their last appeal was to be made to the king; and those were to be found in Ireland, who still credulously thought that the royal eye would have recognized and gratefully acknowledged the wounds which covered his humble petitioners for mercy, in this their last effort for the common sustenance of their children. Mr Leland is displeased at the demeanour of the Irish before the royal tribunal. They had not the folly to repose confidence in Ormond, who had so often deceived them; they would not solicit him to be their advocate; again, they were so imprudent as to rest their claims to royal protection on their justice and their truth. They would not adopt the more dexterous and skilful policy of Ormond, who recommended submission, and the acknowledgment of crimes. The Irish felt *that they were innocent*; that they were not only innocent of offence to his majesty, but that *the monarch was their debtor*; and that they then appeared before him not so much to enjoy the protection of his royal mercy, as to demand the debt which was due to their services. They therefore selected Colonel Richard Talbot to be their advo-

cate, and they made the justice of their claim the foundation of their case. No doubt these were feeble bulwarks to defend them against the heavy fire of corruption which poured on them from the overflowing coffers of the Cromwellian plunderers of their property. Mr Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, makes mention of a few circumstances which helped to blunt the vulgar weapons wielded by the advocates of the impoverished Irish. "The new Earls of Orrery and Montrath had taken care to raise privately among the adventurers and soldiers, L.20,000 or L.30,000, to be disposed of properly, without any account, by way of recompense to such as should be serviceable to what was called the English interests." The Irish had no such sums to command, few friends about the court, and no means of procuring any. Those of the English council before whom they were to plead their cause, were highly prejudiced and incensed against the whole nation; knew little of the conduct of particular persons who deserved favour, but were willing to involve every body in the general guilt of the massacre as well as the rebellion." The Irish nation should not have been so destitute of council; gratitude should have presided on the royal tribunal, and the tears of Ireland should have been dried by the royal hand. If Charles had been a grateful king, or, rather, had he possessed the feelings of a man, he would have been the minister of consolation to the unprotected Irishman. He should have said, "You who remembered me in my adversity, I will not

forget when sitting on the throne." No!—the English interest must be favoured, and justice and Ireland must sink into the tomb. Why should Irishmen, after such a scene, be partial to the house of Stuart, or to the connection with England? or what compensation can be made to Irish feeling, before the memory of such transactions are totally obliterated?

Both parties, the English adventurers and the Irish proprietors, were heard before the king in council. Lord Clarendon, in his *Life and Memoirs*, written by himself, gives a very interesting and pathetic description of the reasons advanced by the Irish in support of their claims. "This nobleman," says Dr Curry, "seems to exhibit some symptoms of remorse for that Machiavelian advice which the Irish ever accused him of having given to the king, while the settlement of Ireland was under consideration." Dr Curry has given a very curious certificate of a declaration made by Clarendon, after his disgrace in England, to one of his most confidential friends. We shall literally copy it, as it bears all the internal marks of authenticity. "Memorandum.—The Reverend Mr Cock of Durham, being at his kinsman's, Sir Ralph Cole, at Banspith Castle, about the time that Lord Chancellor Clarendon was disgraced, Sir Henry Brabant of Newcastle came thither, in his way from London, and told Sir Ralph and him this passage: That he, Sir Henry Brabant, having been to wait on Lord Clarendon just after his disgrace, his lordship, after telling him how kindly he took that

piece of friendship, expressed himself to this effect, ' that there were grievous things laid to his charge, but that he could bear up against the rest, if his majesty would forgive him but one thing, which was, that he was the person who advised him to prefer his enemies, and neglect his friends, since the principles of the latter would secure them to him ; adding, that he took that for the cause of his own ruin, and wished it might not occasion that of many others, and at last the king's." " This," says Dr Curry, " is testified by H. Bedford, who had it from the above Mr Cock."

Lord Chancellor Clarendon, who thus expressed himself, when the folly of injustice was too glaring not to be acknowledged, has given us in his memoirs such a picture of the proceedings before the king and council on the subject of the settlement of Ireland, as must silence the most impudent defender of English usurpation. We shall give it entire and un mutilated. It is valuable from its authority, as well as its composition, and demonstrates the infamy of the monarch who could have given his countenance to a policy so atrocious and unprincipled. " In vain did the Irish agents urge the great and long sufferings of their countrymen ; the loss of their estates for five or six-and-twenty years ; the wasting and spending of the whole nation in battles, and transportation of men into the parts beyond the seas, whereof many had the honour to testify their fidelity to the king by real services, (many of them returned into England with him, and were still in his service ;) the great num-

bers of men, women and children that had been massacred or executed in cold blood, after the king's government had been driven from them; the multitudes that had been destroyed by famine and the plague, these two heavy judgments having raged over the kingdom for two or three years; and at last, as a persecution unheard-of, the transplanting of the small remainder of the nation into the corner of the province of Connaught, where yet much of the lands were taken from them, which had been assigned with all those formalities of law that were in use and practice under that government. Indeed it was deemed strange indiscretion and folly in the Irish, to insist upon the unworthiness and incapacity of those who for many years had possessed themselves of their estates, and sought then a confirmation of their rebellious title from his majesty; or even to insinuate that their rebellion had been more infamous, and of greater magnitude than that of the Irish, who had risen in arms to free themselves from the rigour and severity that was exercised upon them by some of the king's ministers, and for the liberty of their conscience, without having the least intention or thought of withdrawing themselves from his majesty's obedience, or declining his government; whereas the others had carried on an odious rebellion against the king's sacred person, whom they had horridly murdered in the sight of the sun, with all imaginable circumstances of contempt and defiance, and as much as in them lay, had rooted out monarchy itself, and overturned and destroyed the whole government.

of church and state ; and therefore they observed, whatever punishment the Irish had merited for their former transgressions, which they had so long repented of and departed from, when they had arms and strong towns in their hands, (which, together with themselves, they put again under his majesty's protection), that surely this part of the English who were possessed of their estates, and had broken all their obligations to God and the king, could not deserve to be gratified with their ruin and total destruction. It was deemed unpardonable indiscretion in the Irish agents to give the most distant intimation of their humble hope, that when all his majesty's other subjects were by his clemency restored to their own estates, and were in full peace and mirth and joy, the Irish alone should not be exempt from all his majesty's grace, and left in tears and mourning and lamentation, and be sacrificed without redemption, to the avarice and cruelty of those who had not only spoiled and oppressed them, but had done all that was in their power to destroy the king himself and his posterity, and who now returned to their obedience and submitted to his government, when they were no longer able to oppose it."

Charles appointed commissioners, denominated "A Court of Claims," to put into execution the act of settlement. The first set of commissioners appointed, were so completely and thoroughly in the interest of the adventurers and Cromwellians, that it would be a long work to detail their acts of partiality and oppression. They overshot their duty,

and were superseded. Another set of commissioners were substituted, of pure character and better feeling. Lord Clarendon says, that they rather leaned to the Irish, and thus exasperated a formidable power in the persons of the Cromwellians; and his lordship further adds, that the commissioners themselves were so conscious of having acted in obedience to the dictates of truth and justice in the several decisions they made, that they would proceed no further in the commission, nor subject themselves more to the whispers of censure, until they could receive his majesty's pleasure; and that they might more effectually receive it, they desired leave from the king that they might attend his royal person; and there being at the same time several complaints made against them to his majesty, and appeals to him from their decrees, he gave the commissioners leave to return, and at the same time, all the other interests sent their deputies to solicit their rights; in the prosecution whereof, after much time spent, the Duke of Ormond was called from Ireland to court, at which time a third bill was transmitted from the Irish parliament, called the additional and supplemental bill of settlement, and to revise many of the decrees made by the commissioners.

This bill, or black act, was brought over to Ireland, signed and sealed by the Duke of Ormond himself. By that bill the claims of the innocent, who had not received any compensation for their immense losses, were for ever extinguished. Thus were the loyal and the faithful adherents to the

fortunes of Charles sacrificed to his old and inveterate enemies; and those acts of parliament, which completed the settlement of Ireland, are at the present day the foundation of the titles to the great majority of landed property in this country.

So enormous was the injustice which was now done by the English monarch against the poor people of Ireland, that we find the compassion of Louis XIV. was excited by the bitterness of Irish lamentation. He wrote the King of England a letter, in which he remonstrates with his unprincipled abandonment of his best and sincerest friends, and calls upon him to imitate that toleration which Louis himself then allowed to his subjects of the reformed religion. Such interposition, however important, was in vain; the king had taken his measures, and indolence, if not vice, would not suffer him to retrace his steps. As yet, we have for the most part confined ourselves to those authorities in favour of Ireland, whose impartiality will not be suspected. Lord Clarendon, Carte, Hume, Leland, and the accurate Dr Curry, have borne testimony to the infamy of the act of settlement, to its unparalleled cruelty and injustice. Time, however, has given to that proceeding a stability and a strength which it never could enjoy from its own intrinsic merit; and the catholics of the present day have devoted their industry and their wealth to the purchase of those properties which derive their titles from the foulest record in the history of any legislature. They are therefore

deeply interested in the permanency of that settlement which their ancestors most naturally would have struggled to overturn. The encouragement which has been given, for some years back, under a more wise and generous policy, to the numerous population of Ireland, has caused a great revolution in property. The Irish catholics of the present day can boast of extensive landed proprietors among their body ; of rich and powerful merchants ; active, skilful, and prosperous manufacturers ; every class of human industry, and every department of science, are filled with catholics of great and prominent celebrity. Catholic wealth is daily accumulating, and the various sects of Ireland are rapidly becoming one people, by the powerful operation of mutual interest, as well as mutual charity.

The infamy of Charles is lost in the consideration that *all* his successors have not imitated his example ; and though the devoted people of Ireland were again doomed to experience the lash of persecution under the hand which deposed the house of Stuart ; yet a better order of things has risen up during the last thirty years ; and some compensation, though not half what is due, has been made to the Roman catholics of Ireland, for the unmerited sufferings of their ancestors. One of the ablest men, perhaps the very ablest man, to whom Ireland ever gave birth, has vindicated the character of the Irish catholics against the ignorant calumnies of English usurpation and prejudice. Dean Swift, whose orthodoxy the established church will

not refuse to acknowledge, thus gives his opinion of the merits of the catholics and of their enemies, after the passing of the act of settlement.

“These insurrections, wherewith the catholics are charged, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preserving the old ; the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that christianity was first introduced into this island, which was by catholics ; but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government ; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder, their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary. They united in a solemn league and covenant to alter the whole system of spiritual government, established in all christian nations and of apostolic institution, concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation, at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth. The catholics of Ireland, in the great rebellion, lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king ; the schismatics, who cut off the father’s head, forced the son to fly for life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil, obtained grants of those very estates which the catholics lost in defence of the ancient constitution—many of which estates are at this day

possessed by those schismatics ; and thus they gained by their rebellion what the catholics lost by their loyalty." This is a brief and comprehensive picture of the acts and fortunes of both parties ; and such a one as will not be denied by any honest or dispassionate reader.

Notwithstanding the palpable cruelty and injustice with which the Irish were treated by Charles in his settlement of the claims of the various parties in Ireland, we find the ascendancy spirit of the Cromwellians most grievously pained by the consideration, that even a single individual case of protection to the innocent Irish or catholic claimant, should be suffered to exist by the commissioners appointed to put the act of settlement into execution. They not only menaced a rebellion, but actually formed a conspiracy to seize the castle of Dublin, overturn the government, and again plunge the nation into blood ; so offended was the rapacious sensibility of those adventurers, whose numbers, as compared with the people of Ireland, were, in the opinion of Lord Ormond and Mr Carte, as one to ten. So true is it, that the property is the strength of the country ; and that those few who can wield it, may bid defiance to the angry menaces of a disarmed and beggared multitude. Before the rebellion of 1641, the Irish were, (according to a Colonel Lawrence, quoted by Dr Curry,) proprietors of ten acres to one that the English had in Ireland ; but after the act of settlement, those English were in possession, by that act, of four millions, five hundred and sixty thousand, and thirty-seven

acres; so that, (adds my author), if the majority of proprietors may give the denomination to a country, which usually it doth, Ireland may be called west England. Walsh, the author of the famous remonstrance, says, that they, "the Roman catholics of Ireland, were the lawful proprietors, and had been lately the possessors, of nineteen parts in twenty of the lands of that kingdom." The act of settlement banished thousands of those families which had lived in affluence and comfort; and the hand which executed it, was that of the king, for whose restoration they had brought their lives, their properties, and their children to the altar. Yet all this royal treason to humanity and justice, could not satisfy or conciliate the Cromwellian adventurers. All or none was their motto; and a feeble experiment was made by those insatiable fanatics to devour even the miserable pittance assigned to the original proprietors of the country. There was a point, however, beyond which Charles could not be driven; and the activity of Ormond in his Irish government soon extinguished the impotent efforts of insurrection.

Whenever the English parliament were inclined to amuse themselves with the torture of their fellow creatures, or to make experiments on human sensibility, Ireland was a convenient subject on which their malicious genius could be displayed, and with the approbation too of the whole English nation. If a royal favourite like Clarendon or Ormond, at this period were to be hunted down, Ireland was the road through which their pursuers were to pass.

Irish industry must be trampled upon, and the Irish arm must be chained. This would probably embarrass a rival, or distress the king, or create discontent, and thus lay new ground for future insurrections and future confiscations. To such a policy must we attribute the successful blow which the British parliament made at the existence of the poor people of Ireland. In their fury against this country, they displayed the grossest ignorance, as well as the most malignant feeling to injure Ireland. They were content to inconvenience themselves; but that which they inconsiderately supposed would contribute to impoverish, and ultimately render the Irish incapable of all future effort, may be considered as one of those providential instruments, by which the malevolence of nations to each other is often counteracted. When the celebrated cabal, composed of the most unprincipled and able men in England, such men as Shaftesbury, Buckingham and Lauderdale, declaimed against the importation of fat cattle from Ireland, they little contemplated that the necessities of England, induced by this absurd policy, would force her to throw open much more extensive sources of consumption, than even the market of England. Mr Leland thus observes on the folly of this malicious determination of England against Irish industry. "The English nation soon felt the inconveniencies of the act for the prohibition of fat cattle from Ireland. Discerning men saw the happy consequences which it must in time produce to Ireland; for the present, however, the Irish subjects were cast into despair; all commerce

was interrupted ; war made it necessary to guard against invasion ; subsidies were due, but no money could be found. Ormond thought it both necessary and convenient to accept part of those subsidies in provisions, consulting at once the king's service, and the ease of his distressed subjects ; nor was the king ill disposed to extenuate the present difficulties of Ireland. With the consent of his council, obtained not without some reluctance, he, by an act of state, allowed a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, either at war or in peace with his majesty. He permitted the Irish, at the same time, to retaliate on the Scots, who, copying from England, had prohibited their cattle, their corn, and their beef. The importation of linen and woollen manufactures, stockings and gloves, and other commodities from Scotland, was forbidden, as highly detrimental to the trade of Ireland." This inveterate policy of tying up the arm of Irish industry recoiled on those who adopted it. Provisions in England rose in price. This augmented the price of labour ; manufactures followed ; and thus the English loom fell a victim to foreign competition. All this was foretold by the opponents of so absurd a measure ; but party spirit swept away the understanding of parliament, and a bill disgraceful to the moral, as well as intellectual character of England, was imposed on the reluctant councils of the monarch. The conduct of the leaders in parliament on this desperate effort of their party, fully verifies and illustrates the observations made by the Earl of Essex, when lord lieu-

tenant of Ireland some years after. "Ireland," said his lordship, "has been perpetually rent and torn since his majesty's restoration; I can compare it to nothing better than the flinging the reward, upon the death of a deer, among a pack of hounds, where every one pulls and tears what he can for himself; for indeed it has been no other than a perpetual scramble." This may be considered a true epitome of our history, not only since the restoration of Charles, but since the first invasion of the English under Henry. Ireland has been the theatre of every political gambler, from Strongbow down to the humblest follower of ascendancy, whom we still see enriching his family in proportion to the zeal he exhibits in withholding the rights, or restraining the industry of Irishmen.

It is pleasing, however, to observe some little interruption to that profligate system of government which was perpetually dividing and distracting the people; which saw no security but in Irish misery, and no triumph but in Irish degradation. It is pleasant to observe the Duke of Ormond employing his talents in the establishment of Irish manufactures, and in the encouragement of Irish industry, and even, for a time, hanging up the sword of intolerance and the book of controversy. We therefore copy with pleasure from Mr Leland, the recital of those efforts which were made by Ormond in 1667, to give some compensation to Ireland for the destructive effects of that commercial and manufacturing jealousy which England had lately manifested in so remarkable a manner. Men of abi-

lities and knowledge in commerce (says Mr Leland) were encouraged by Ormond, to suggest their schemes for promoting industry and preventing the necessity of foreign importation. Sir Peter Pett presented a memorial to the Duke of Ormond, for erecting a manufacture of woollen cloth, which might at least furnish a sufficient quantity for home consumption. He chiefly recommended the making fine worsted stockings and Norwich stuffs, which might not only keep money in the country, but be so improved as to bring considerable sums from abroad. He offered to procure workmen from Norwich. The council of trade, lately established in Ireland, approved of his proposal. The Duke of Ormond encouraged it, and erected the manufacture at Clonmel, the capital of his country palatine of Tipperary. To supply the scarcity of workmen, Grant (a man well known by his observations on the bills of mortality) was employed to procure five hundred woollen protestant families from Canterbury to remove to Ireland. At the same time, Colonel Richard Laurence, another ingenious projector, was encouraged to promote the business of combing wool and making friezes. A manufacture of this kind was established at Carrick. But of all such schemes of national improvement, that of a linen manufacture was most acceptable to Ormond. He possessed himself with the noble ambition of imitating the Earl of Strafford in the most honourable part of his conduct, and opening a source of wealth and prosperity, which the troubles and disorders of Ireland had stopped. An act of Parlia-

ment was passed in Dublin, to encourage the growth of flax and manufacture of linen. Ormond was at the charge of sending skilful persons to the low countries, to make observations on the state of the trade, the manner of working, the way of whitening their thread, the regulations of their manufacture, and management of their grounds, and to contract with some of their artists. He engaged Sir William Temple to send to Ireland five hundred families from Brabant, skilled in manufacturing linen; others were procured from Rochelle and the isle of Rhe, from Jersey, and the neighbouring parts of France. Convenient tenements were prepared for the artificers at Chapelizod, near Dublin; where cordage, sail-cloth, linen, ticken and diaper, were brought to a considerable degree of perfection, "Such cares," Mr Leland truly observes, "reflect real honour on the governors who thus laboured to promote the happiness of a nation; and should be recorded with pleasure and gratitude, however we may be captivated by the more glaring objects of history." The historian of Ireland is seldom relieved in his office by the narration of such useful works as we have now described. The ingenuity to destroy rather than to build up, to disfigure rather than to adorn one of the finest countries in Europe, is almost, in every page, the subject of the writer. Whenever Irish industry is encouraged, the encouragement is found to flow from some struggle between parties, who, in the next page, are seen undoing the work they contributed with so much zeal to execute. There is no honest and

continued feeling in favour of Ireland. Her governors (in general mere birds of passage) obey every wind of prejudice which blows from the shores of an avaricious and envious nation.

The honourable efforts now made by Ormond to promote the manufactures and commerce of Ireland, soon excited the apprehensions of English jealousy, and the virulence of party combined with the national feeling to injure Ormond in the estimation and confidence of his sovereign. He was soon recalled from the administration, to which he was succeeded by Lord Roberts, who, in 1670, gave way to Lord Berkley.

The administration of this nobleman opened a new scene in Ireland. That portion of the community which had so long and so unjustly suffered under the malignant suspicions of an ascendant sect, suddenly became the favourites of those who were once the instruments of their persecution. The celebrated cabal, which were so near overturning the liberty of England, suggested to Charles the good policy of altering his mode of governing Ireland. They recommended his peculiar patronage of that religion and its members, who had already displayed so ardent a zeal in behalf of monarchy, and who struggled so fruitlessly to resist the tide of fanaticism which rushed from the fountain of English puritanism. The real views of the present councillors of Charles were to raise him and themselves on the ruins of England's freedom ; to extinguish the spirit of that parliament which was maintaining so splendid a contest with Charles, and which had

succeeded in extorting from that unprincipled monarch the most powerful bulwarks of human liberty. For this purpose they recommended the most cordial alliance with the French sovereign; and the ministers of Charles, Clarendon, Buckingham, and others, stooped even to the degrading service of being the hired advocates of this French connection. The menaces of the popular leaders alarmed the fears of the monarch, and the devotion of his brother to the Catholic religion co-operating with the specious policy of being independent of parliamentary aid, prompted him to encourage a foreign connection, which might have terminated in the establishment of an unlimited monarchy.—Such were the plans of the king, and the designs of his ministers, when Lord Berkley, as lord lieutenant of Ireland, thought proper to manifest a peculiar partiality for the long depressed Irish Catholics. The poor people of Ireland, so long chained down by the violent hand of intolerance, feeling the fetters somewhat loosened, naturally gave full expression to their joy, and full swing to their partial triumph. The Catholic clergy participated in the general satisfaction, and have most grievously offended the ascendancy pride of Mr Leland. He has been pleased to say, that on this occasion they endeavoured to establish doctrines which they had a hundred times abjured, and that the intemperance of their joy forced them into the assertion of religious principles which must have offended the power from which they were then obtaining some relaxation of the fury of penal law.

It was a strange spectacle, and one which must have excited suspicion in the bosoms of observing Irishmen, to see the monarch who had so lately sacrificed them to the rapacity and violence of his most inveterate enemies, and his present advisers, who were most forward in the yell of persecution against the Catholics—it must have excited surprise to see such men suddenly revolutionizing the political power of Ireland—creating Catholic aldermen, Catholic Sheriffs, Catholic corporations, and (as Mr Leland most benevolently, and in the true spirit of Christian kindness, says) offending, by such “impious confidence in *papists*,” (as he is pleased to call the Catholics) the tender and loyal consciences of the protestants of Ireland. Such a revolution, and so unexpected, and coming from such a source, must have excited the suspicions of the reflecting Catholic; and though he embraced the hand which gave him even a temporary relief, he could not but have doubted the sincerity of the motive which suggested the protection; nor could he flatter himself with a long duration of the indulgence he experienced. So alarming a change roused the fears of all those adventurers who so lately thought themselves securely settled in their ill acquired properties. Another revolution was expected, and a renewal of all those sanguinary scenes which desolated Ireland, was revived in the imagination even of the boldest and least credulous among the colonists. A sensation so tremendous immediately found its way to England; and the hot-headed advocates of despotic power struck to the universal sentiment

of indignation which issued from all quarters of the country. They removed Lord Berkley from his Irish administration, and endeavoured to conciliate the power which they could not trample on. Charles would have tolerated the Irish catholic to enslave the English protestant, and conquering the latter, he would then put his foot on the neck of the former. This was his policy, and the policy of his brother. The effort, however, was ruinous to the poor devoted catholic. It exposed him to the experimentalizing malice of an English parliament. The latter, in 1675, again threw down the catholics to the earth, banished their priests, and gave marked encouragement to the ascendancy of the English protestant interest. The Earl of Essex was now Lord Lieutenant; his administration was not remarkable for any occurrence worthy of record.

Charles was obliged once more to have recourse to the artful Ormond, who is again appointed chief governor of Ireland. Mr Leland has the following interesting account of the first interview of Charles with Ormond, after a considerable interval of apparent displeasure. "It was now several years since the king had spoken to Ormond in any confidential manner, except when Shaftesbury was declared Lord Chancellor. On this occasion Charles ventured to take him apart and to ask his opinion of this measure. 'Your majesty,' said the duke, 'hath acted very prudently in committing the seals to Lord Shaftesbury, provided you know how to get them from him again.' After this short conference, the king relapsed into his former coldness. For almost

a year he never deigned to speak to the Duke, who, from his return to England, every day attended at the court. At length, in the month of April, 1677, Ormond was surprised by a message from the king that he would sup with him. Their interview was easy and cheerful, without any explanation or any discussion of past transactions. On parting, Charles signified his intentions of again employing him in Ireland. The next morning he saw the Duke at a distance, advancing to pay his usual duty. ‘Yonder comes Ormond,’ said Charles; ‘I have done all in my power to disoblige him, and to make him as discontented as others, but he will be loyal in spite of me; I must even employ him again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland.’” From this time he was designed to succeed Essex in the Irish administration.

The object of the King and Duke of York, in the appointment of Ormond in 1677, was to counteract the growing influence of Monmouth, the natural son of Charles, who was now anxiously looked up to by a powerful faction in England, as the fittest successor to the throne. Such was the royal homage to the talents and character of Ormond. It will be found that he acquitted himself with firmness and good sense in the performance of his high duties. No man was more anxiously interested in preventing a renewal of those dreadful calamities which had visited Ireland. Sufficient blood had flowed for Ormond; he had acquired splendid revenues, and he now studied to preserve them. We therefore find him exercising all his

prudence to counteract the vicious practices of the authors of Oates' plot, or as it was most foully called, the Popish Plot, who struggled to make Ireland the theatre of their murderous conspiracy.

The object of this plot, (hatched and encouraged by Shaftesbury, one of the ablest and most vicious characters in modern history) was to blast the reputation of the monarch and his brother, to prevent the succession of the latter, and to sacrifice on the altar of justice, the innocent and persecuted catholics of the empire.* For this the most abandoned ruffians were hired to swear away the lives of men they never saw, or whose names they scarcely knew; the gaols were swept for witnesses, and the wretch

* The Rev. Mr Grainger, in his biographical history of England, has the following account of this despicable wretch, whom the more abandoned promoters of this conspiracy encouraged to shed the blood of so many innocent men. "The infamous Titus Oates was, soon after the accession of king James, convicted of perjury, upon the evidence of sixty respectable witnesses, of whom *nine were protestants*; he was sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand marks; to be stripped of his canonical habit; to be whipped twice in three days by the common hangman; and to stand in the pillory at Westminster Hall gate, and at the Royal Exchange. He was, moreover, to be pilloried five times every year, and to be imprisoned during life. The hangman performed his office with uncommon rigour. The best thing James ever did, was punishing Oates for his perjury; and the greatest thing Oates ever did, was supporting himself under the most afflictive part of his punishment with the resolution and constancy of a martyr. A pension of four hundred pounds a-year was conferred upon this miscreant by king William; he was, for a clergyman, remarkably illiterate; it is well known that he was the son of an anabaptist; and he probably died in the communion in which he had been educated."

who was doomed to expiate a murder or a robbery, was released from the halter, on condition of his bearing false witness against the most respected and beloved of the people.—To such atrocious lengths did the furious ambition of party drive those very men who contributed to raise that proud and envied edifice of political freedom, for which England now stands distinguished in the world. Those perfidious and relentless conspirators thought to turn the tide of perjury into Ireland, and thus sweep away the beggared catholic population. Ormond interposed; and Ireland, in which the great majority were catholics, was protected against that legal slaughter which the interested credulity of the English Parliament encouraged in England. Strong measures, however, were resorted to by Ormond, to guard, not so much against a plot which he did not credit, but against the malignant suspicions of his enemies in the English Parliament, whose views and characters he detested; nor was the suppression and humiliation of the unfortunate catholic a subject of sorrow to him, so that he would not be forced to the adoption of measures which might once more drive the nation into madness and rebellion.*

* By the act of settlement, Ormond is represented by an author of this period (quoted by Dr Curry), called the “unkind deserter,” to have got the city of Kilkenny, and six other corporate towns, together with their lands and liberties, valued by himself and his friends of the council but at L.60,000, though they were well worth L.120,000. It is not very extraordinary, therefore, that Ormond should have interposed to prevent the progress of a conspiracy against the public feeling, and national religion, which might have again thrown every thing into confu-

Proclamations against the catholic clergy were issued, and every possible caution adopted to secure the protestant interest against any plans of conspiracy which might be meditated.* So infatuated

sion, and risked that immense property which he had acquired, after the passing through so many scenes of blood and devastation.

* Notwithstanding the malignant industry with which Shaftesbury and his friends have exerted themselves, to rake from the sweepings of the prisons of Ireland, something like testimony against the poor Irish, in support of his favourite scheme of the papist plot, it is rather singular that so few candidates for the infamous office were to be found. If a disgraced or excommunicated priest, who had smarted under the ecclesiastical lash, could be discovered, he was immediately courted by the advocates of "religious freedom," and either tortured or corrupted into evidence against the highest and most dignified of the catholic hierarchy. To some of those outcasts from religion and morality, the venerated Oliver Plunket, archbishop of Armagh, fell an innocent and unpitied victim. To the parliamentary leaders it was perfectly immaterial how abandoned the witness, or how guiltless the party, when they prosecuted. They thirsted for the sacrifice of popish blood, that they might the better exasperate the popular mind against their king and his brother, and under the specious pretext of defending their free constitution against the encroachments of arbitrary power, they stopped at no expedient, however infamous, to carry an object of such paramount importance. The legal murder of this venerated Irish prelate, was one of those expedients by which they thought they might exasperate Ireland into insurrection. Bishop Burnet (whose authority will not be questioned by Englishmen), gives the following account of the infamous proceedings against the Irish catholic archbishop:—

"Plunket (says Burnet) was at this time brought to trial. Some lewd Irish priests, and others of that nation, hearing that England was then disposed to hearken to good swearers, thought themselves well qualified for the employment, so they came over

was the fanaticism of the day, that if it had not been controlled by the better reflection of Ormond,

to swear that there was a great plot in Ireland. The witnesses were brutal and profligate men, yet the Earl of Shaftesbury cherished them much. They were examined by parliament at Westminster, and what they said was believed. Some of these priests were censured by him for their lewdness. Plunket had nothing to say in his defence, but to deny all; so he was condemned, and suffered very decently; expressing himself in many particulars as became a bishop. He died denying every thing that had been sworn against him."

Thus Burnet writes of this horrible transaction. By such detestable means did the great and leading patriots of England flatter themselves they could conquer the power of the crown. The tide of popular opinion at length began to ebb, and swept away, in its merciless course, those great champions of English rights. The English reader of English history, when he comes to the page which records the deaths of Russel or Sydney, may shed a tear over the fate of men devoted, as they were, to the establishment of his civil and religious freedom. But with what reflections can the Irish reader of Irish suffering follow the persecutors of their country and their religion to the scaffold? Will it not be considered by them as consolatory, that the malicious defamers of his country, and ambitious destroyers of the most exalted among his countrymen, should at length fall victims to that policy which visited their native land with such excessive calamity? As to Ireland, the partizans of English liberty have been the furious persecutors of her religion. The Sydneys and the Hampdens of England have been to Ireland its Neros and Caligulas. But a very few years have elapsed since the English patriot began to extend his principles of liberty to his Irish fellow-subjects. The highest and most enlightened senators of the British parliament have been (until the last few years) the creatures of a mean, jealous, and selfish policy, worthy of the most ignorant inhabitant of a counting-house. The Irishman, therefore, who thought and spoke in candour, was always accustomed to associate the free constitution of England with the degradation and suffering of his native land.

the proprietors of lands would have driven their tenants from their holdings; the manufacturers would have banished their workmen, and masters their servants,—yet this would have been a severe punishment to themselves, for all those various denominations were catholic. By the computation of Sir William Petty in 1679, there were about fifteen catholics to one protestant at this period.

The hopes of the sanguinary Shaftesbury to create an insurrection in Ireland, were blasted by the prudence of Ormond. The former was so incensed, that he brought forward a frivolous impeachment against Ormond; when Ossory, the distinguished son of Ormond, confronted this infamous conspirator, and extinguished him on his favourite theatre. The discovery of the Rye-house plot, (1682), in which the principal parliamentary leaders were involved, completely established the royal ascendancy over those distinguished persons, who were struggling (and often by the instrumentality of the most vicious means) to restrain the king's authority within the wholesome limits of a free constitution. The general alarm which ran through the country, lest it should again return to that dreadful state of anarchy from which it had but lately emerged, rallied the great majority round the throne; and the zealous precipitancy of the best friends of civil and religious liberty in England, was the means of causing that sudden change in the administration of the two countries, which soon after threatened the existence of the English constitution. Charles yielded to the counsel which suggested, that in the Irish

catholics he would find willing instruments where-
with he might establish his favourite despotic prin-
ciples, and that this was the happy moment to
seize, when the popular party in Parliament had
sunk so low in public estimation. He therefore de-
termined to recal Ormond from his Irish admini-
stration, and substitute a lord-lieutenant who would
be more inclined to act with sincerity on the new
principles and with the new men whom Charles had
determined to encourage.

The death of Charles taking place about this
time (1685), opened a new scene in Ireland, and
perhaps one of the most fruitful of instruction
which has as yet come under the observation of the
reader. He will see Ireland pass from the extremes
of an intolerant and suspicious government to the
opposite extreme of unlimited confidence. He will
see the great majority of the Irish nation, who have
so long been the drawers of water and the hewers
of wood in their native land, suddenly raised into
the station of governors and legislators; their reli-
gion not only tolerated, but peculiarly patronized;
and the very persons who were but lately threaten-
ed with the scaffold, the victims of the suborned
perjurer, promoted to the highest places of confi-
dence and honour. If he looks back upon the reign
through which he has passed, he will have to con-
template the most despicable object in the whole
circle of our nature, namely, the sovereign of a
great nation, not only forgetful of the services and
the fidelity of the men who restored him to his
throne, but actually courting his old enemies, the

murderers of his father, by the abandoned neglect and persecution of those who sacrificed every thing that was most dear, to his exaltation. If ever Charles has been seen to listen to the cries or the remonstrances of his Irish people, the reader may trace the royal motive to a principle of despotism. The English sovereign would strike off the chains of Ireland if she would join him in rivetting them on Englishmen. He would unbar their prison doors if they would volunteer to take up arms against the free constitution of England. Never was a monarch (may Ireland say) less deserving of the throne which he recovered, or better entitled to the infamy which now covers his memory.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

JAMES II.

A. D. **THE** reign to which we have now arrived, 1684. affords the best commentary on that vicious policy which distinguished the administration of Ireland during the last hundred and fifty years. The reader has already waded through a long period of Irish suffering, inflicted by the exasperating hand of intolerance. He has seen the sword which was drawn by Elizabeth against the religion and the liberties of the Irish nation, give way for some time, under the government of James I. to the more slow, though not less torturing devastation of a perfidious and unprincipled litigation. He has then passed to the heartless and sanguinary fanaticism of the English republicans, who would have sacrificed every inhabitant of Ireland on the altar of their demoniac liberty. From this scene of hypocrisy and cruelty, where the Bible was made the instrument of human misery, he has come to a period not less calculated

to excite the sympathy or the indignation of the reader ; namely, that which exhibits a whole nation sacrificed to the vengeance of their most relentless enemies, by that very sovereign for whose restoration they had exposed their lives, their families, and their properties. The black ingratitude of Charles II. to his faithful Irish subjects, is perhaps the most distressing picture which can be presented to the reflection of an Irishman. The infatuation of fanaticism, or the impulse of avarice or ambition, may account for the furious spirit of persecution with which the English reformers or colonists have ever pursued the poor people of our country ; but it is not so easy to account for the existence of that base and contemptible feeling which could humiliate a king, possessed of an almost uncontrollable power, so low as to minister to the passions of those very persons who were the leading persecutors of his best friends.

The people of Ireland must have witnessed with satisfaction the various and successful struggles which their favoured persecutors had with the ungrateful monarch. They must have triumphed in those vexations which that party caused in the royal bosom, when they reflected on the unprincipled policy of conciliating the common enemy at the expense of the sincere and faithful friend. It was left for the successor of Charles II. to do justice to a people who had so long suffered by their attachment to his family, and to extend that protection to their civil and religious freedom, which their fidelity so truly merited. Unfortunately for

Ireland, the hand which promised her protection was found unfit to govern. Devotedly attached to the catholic religion, James weakly exposed himself to the suspicions of his English protestant subjects. Too proud and too despotic by nature, he would not bend to the prayers or the threats of his people; he would listen to no dictation, nor be controlled by any power. The murmurs of parliament were not noticed, or if noticed, were despised. His great ambition seemed to be to frown them into silence, to insult the religious feelings of his people, and to establish an unlimited monarchy. There never was a period in the history of England, when an artful and judicious monarch could have so easily succeeded in raising an unlimited despotic power on the ruins of that free constitution which Englishmen then enjoyed. The recollection of that anarchy from which England so providentially emerged; the universal sentiment of abhorrence which ran through the nation against the hypocritical declaimers in favour of liberty and religion; the indignation lately excited by the attempt to destroy the king, and once more plunge the country into convulsion—all these considerations contributed to strengthen the arms of the sovereign, to lull the suspicions and diminish the caution of the people. Had James II. sought his way to despotism through the prejudices of the nation—had he dissembled and concealed his zealous attachment to that religion so much dreaded and abhorred by Englishmen, he might have succeeded in extinguishing their civil and religious liberties. Ireland

might have enjoyed, during this disastrous struggle, the advantages of a temporary toleration, but little time would have elapsed until she too would be swallowed up in the royal vortex, and even all hope of future liberty be completely destroyed. It is true, that during the short reign of James II. the Irish catholic was restored to the constitution of his country. In common with the protestant, he enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign. He was eligible to all situations of honour and profit under the crown; he was admitted into parliament and corporations; he was the dispenser of the laws and the distributor of justice. But it should be recollected that the monarch who extended this indulgence to the Irish catholic, would have made that catholic the instrument by which he could conquer the liberties of England; and the same power which could not bear the control of an English parliament, would soon turn on the hand that established his unlimited authority, and reduce it to the common level of English slavery. The Irish nation would in its turn be trampled upon by the despotic spirit of James, and the catholics of the present day perhaps would have been deploring the unfortunate circumstances, which induced their ancestors to co-operate with their sovereign in the destruction of a constitution which promised so many blessings to mankind.

No Irishman is so devoted to his religion or to his country as not to acknowledge the principles of despotism which influenced the conduct of James II.; but the candid reader, whether he be protes-

tant or catholic, must admit, that at the particular period when James thought proper to extend his royal protection to the long oppressed people of this country, no nation ever exhibited so many inducements to abuse the power with which accident had suddenly invested them. It remains for us to show, from the impartial records of history, whether the catholics of Ireland demeaned themselves, in this season of their prosperity, in such a manner as was not only consistent with those feelings which regulate our nature, but with those social sympathies which make us anxious to promote the happiness of our fellow-creatures.

The historians of the colony, (for no man should honour them with the title of Irish historians,) have struggled, by every mean and despicable artifice, to blacken the character of the Irish catholic during the reign of James II. The impudent falsehoods of Archbishop King, in his state of the protestants of Ireland during this reign, are audaciously echoed by Mr Leland. The two clergymen, in the fury of their invective, discover all the vicious malignity of polemics, and, in the true spirit of churchmen, represent the professors of catholic doctrine either as insatiable tyrants or degraded slaves. So extravagant are the accusations of King and Leland against the Irish during the reign of James II. that the most superficial observer of human nature requires no evidence to demonstrate their absurdity or their atrocity. In proportion as we approach the days in which we live, the necessity of pressing the advantages which must flow

from the practice of mutual charity, must occur to the reader. If the facts which the historian has before him, and which it is his duty to record, be calculated to inflame, to exasperate, and to multiply prejudices, we should suppose that he would not be anxious to make such mention of them as would contribute to increase their effect upon the reader. He would not adopt the little artifice of the daily adventurer in controversy, whose sole object and ambition is to malign his antagonist. Yet this is the tone in which Mr Leland has written the reign of James II.; and to the confidence with which he has handed down the unprincipled assertions and calumnious falsehoods of Archbishop King, may be attributed perhaps much of the foolish and ungenerous principles which have been so obstinately maintained by the most distinguished of modern days. They stop not to inquire or to investigate; they pause not to reflect on the peculiar circumstances of the Irish people, at the period they are charged with intolerance, cruelty, and violence. They never consider the character of their libeller, his motives or his rewards; they go on reading without thought, and deciding without justice.

Never was a nation more abused by an historian, than Ireland has been by Mr Leland; it would appear as if he had studiously and elaborately compiled his history in order to perpetuate those prejudices and follies which every good man would gladly extinguish. He has, in glaring and splendid phrase, set forth the insolent ascendancy of the Irish catholic during the reign of James II. He

has represented him as wreaking his vengeance on the prostrate English protestant, for the long course of humiliation which his country suffered. He has made no allowance for the excesses of that public spirit which had so long been chained to the ground, nor does he ever speak of the acts of James's catholic government, but in terms the most contemptuous or malignant. The pride of ascendancy which animated the bosom of Archbishop King, seems to have transmigrated to that of Mr Leland; and the reader would suppose that Leland's history of the reign of James II. was written almost immediately after the triumph of the Prince of Orange, when the passions were inflamed, and the heart was exasperated, by the recollection of sufferings which a sudden revolution will ever inflict on its victims. Mr Leland's prejudices will not suffer him to allow talent in the catholic judge or the catholic officer of the crown. The great abilities of James's attorney-general, Mr Nangle, which Lord Clarendon so often acknowledges, are noticed by Mr Leland, only to be treated with a contemptuous observation. The catholic general can display no courage, nor no military skill sufficient to call forth the admiration of this historian of the pale. If the Irish catholic priest should rejoice in the toleration of his religion, he is represented by Mr Leland as a vain and insulting fanatic. Human nature must keep down her feelings to please the fastidious judgment of such an historian. The Irishman must look sad because his civil and religious liberty is restored; and he must join the Eng-

lish in their hatred of that sovereign, under whose protection he was for the first time protected against the sanguinary intolerance of English councils.

Ireland, with that candour which distinguished her, even in her most adverse hours, indulged in the utmost excesses of joy and of triumph, when she found herself governed by a monarch who would not insult her religion, nor trample on her rights. She stood by James II. for the very same reason which prompted England to abandon him. She saw herself restored to her proper station in Europe, making her own laws, asserting her own independence, encouraging her own talents, cherishing her own strength, and putting forth her own inexhaustible resources. Ireland saw and felt all this, under a monarch whom Englishmen justly considered as the violator of English liberty, and the enemy of their beloved religion. We shall find, by a faithful view of the occurrences of this reign, whether James II. merited from the great majority of the Irish nation, that fond partiality they entertained for him. They did not stop to reflect on the motives of the British monarch.— They experienced his protection, and they gave him a liberal return in the overflowing zeal of their attachment. Had James succeeded against William, the British constitution might have been overturned, and an unlimited monarchy might have been the result of the inglorious struggle; but under the existing circumstances of Irishmen, he is an uncandid and dishonest observer who will not give credit to that feeling which bound the Irish

nation so stedfastly to the cause and fortune of James. No man who has read the history of British liberty, or who has marked the progress of those who distinguished themselves in establishing its principles from age to age, will deny that the catholic is entitled to the high praise of being instrumental to the production of that perfect system of freedom, which now constitutes the pride and glory of the English nation. The professors of the religion of Ireland have been the great founders of the British constitution. Little more has been done by the English protestant reformers than to echo that spirit which distinguished their catholic ancestors. The catholics, in the days of the Edwards and the Henrys, were not less alive to the blessings of political freedom, than the murderers of Charles I., or the fanatical organizers of Oates' plot, in the time of Charles II. The petition of rights, or the bill of rights, is little more than declaratory of the great commanding principles of Magna Charta. The latter was the offspring of Catholic spirit, the former of Protestant. The Catholic laid the foundation of the English constitution; the Protestant built the superstructure, and put the last hand to that immortal edifice.

Justice Blackstone has borne testimony to the labours of our catholic ancestors. In his enumeration of the instances in which the fundamental principles of the British constitution were asserted by the people of England, he carries back his readers to that period when England was entirely

catholic, and begins with the great charter, or Magna Charta, which was obtained, sword in hand, by the catholics from King John, and afterwards, with some alterations, confirmed in Parliament by King Henry III. his son; "which charter," says Justice Blackstone, "contained very few grants; but, as Edward Coke observes, was for the most part declaratory of the principal grounds of the fundamental laws of England, afterwards by the statute, *confirmatio cartarum*, whereby the great charter is directed to be allowed as the common law; all judgments contrary to it are declared void; copies of it are ordered to be sent to all the cathedral chapels, and read twice a-year to the people, and sentence of excommunication is directed to be as constantly denounced against all those that, by word, deed, or counsel, act contrary thereto, or in any degree infringe it."—These were the acts of the English catholics; and yet it will be urged again and again that the catholic religion is the religion of the slave. This vulgar error, however, is losing ground; and the progressive illumination of his protestant fellow subjects is daily doing justice to the religion and political principles of the catholic. The ardour with which the Irish catholic combated on the side of James II. is by no means incompatible with the character which we have given of his religion. Every feeling of human nature urged the Irish catholics to fight the battles of James, and the fidelity with which they maintained his cause and fought in his ranks, is their best recommendation to an enlightened protestant mo-

narch. They demonstrate, that the Irish nation will ever be true to that power which does justice to their feelings. When James II. ascended the English throne, great hopes were entertained by the Irish that there would be some relaxation of that rigid government which distinguished his faithless predecessor. The latter had experienced the folly of endeavouring to conciliate his enemies by the abandonment of his friends, and James was induced, by religious as well as political feelings, not to follow an example which produced so much uneasiness to his brother. The character of James is admitted by his greatest enemies to be of the most candid and fearless nature. Full of the sacredness of his authority as a monarch, he had no idea of being subject to control from the voice of his subjects. He expected and commanded universal obedience; and, in his anxiety to extend his protection to those of his subjects who professed the religion to which he himself was attached, he could not brook the opposition of that party who had brought his father to the block, and would have pursued his brother with the same sanguinary fury.

James had been witness to such scenes of hypocrisy, fanaticism, and cruelty, and practised too by men who were perpetually declaiming on the blessings of political and religious freedom, that we need not be much surprised when we see him cautious of reposing confidence in those whom no concessions could conciliate, and whom no indulgence could satisfy. He therefore naturally turned

his attention to that portion of his subjects who had distinguished themselves by the sincerity of their attachment to their sovereign, and he was too proud to turn back or retrace those steps which his more prudent advisers whispered him were dangerous and impracticable. It was not easy for a monarch, even of profounder judgment than James, to determine upon that line of conduct which could best secure him against the encroachments of popular ambition. Mr Hume, in one of the wisest passages of his valuable history, takes the following view of the characters of those men with whom the unfortunate Stuarts had to contend. We shall give the entire passage, as it is the best vindication of that conduct which James determined to adopt with those haughty popular spirits who boldly wrestled with the monarch for the liberties of their country. Speaking of the popular parliamentary leaders in the time of Charles and James, Mr Hume writes as follows: " More noble perhaps in their ends, and highly beneficial to mankind, they must also be allowed to have been less justifiable in the means; and in many of their enterprizes to have paid more regard to political than to moral considerations. Obligated to court the favour of the populace, they found it necessary to comply with their rage and their folly; and have even, on many occasions, by propagating fictions and by promoting violence, served to infatuate and corrupt that people to whom they made a tender of liberty and justice. Charles I. was a tyrant, a papist, and a contriver of the Irish massacre. The church of

England was relapsing fast into idolatry. Puritanism was the only true religion, and the covenant the favourite object of heavenly regard. Through these delusions the party proceeded, and, what may seem wonderful, still to the increase of law and liberty, till they reached the imposture of the popish plot, a fiction which exceeds the ordinary bounds of vulgar credulity. But, however singular these events may appear, there is really nothing altogether new in any period of modern history ; and it is remarkable, that tribunitian arts, though sometimes useful in a free constitution, have been usually such as men of probity and honour could not bring themselves either to practise or approve. The other faction, which, since the revolution, had been obliged to cultivate popularity, sometimes found it necessary to employ like artifices."

It is to be lamented, that the characters whom history hands down to the admiration of posterity, are too often to be found the servile instruments of the most vicious and abandoned policy ; that the advocates of popular rights, were often ministering to the malignant passions of fanaticism ; and that even the venerated names of Hampden, of Russel, and of Sydney, are to be found among the persecutors of conscience, and the patrons of the grossest intolerance. It is not to be wondered, that a monarch reared in the school of despotism, with the example of his predecessors before him, whose authority was seldom restrained by the popular voice, should feel indignant at the remonstrances of

his subjects, when they presumed to dictate to their sovereign, the religion he ought to profess, and the men in whom he ought to repose his confidence. James had not the judgment to discern the point at which he ought to resist, or to submit. He spurned the control of the people, and embraced the principles, and the country which were ready to humour his prejudices, or gratify his ambition.

Soon after James ascended the throne of England, an ill concerted experiment was made by the Duke of Monmouth, (1685), to raise a rebellion in England, and overturn the government. In this struggle he was supported by some of the great popular and parliamentary leaders of England. The people of Ireland particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion by the promptitude of their exertions in support of the crown ; and the king soon seized the opportunity to manifest his gratitude by a marked predilection for their religion and their principles. He disarmed the protestant militia, among whom he suspected the rebellious principles of his English subjects were lurking, and conferred the title of Earl of Tyrconnel on Colonel Richard Talbot, who was a distinguished catholic officer. He appointed his brother-in-law, Lord Clarendon, to the vice-regency of Ireland. James's instructions to this nobleman were liberal and enlightened. He resolved to break the chains of intolerance, and ordered that his catholic subjects should not be excluded from the advantages of the constitution. He introduced them into corpora-

tions, and invested them with magistracies and judicial offices. Mr Leland says, that this extraordinary indulgence to the Irish catholics, exposed their protestant fellow countrymen to perpetual hazard and inquietude ; that they were left naked to the fury of their most relentless enemies. Lord Clarendon, the lord lieutenant at that period, on the contrary, in his speech to the Irish parliament, felicitates the country on the universal concord which such measures of conciliation, as were recommended by his master, promised to produce in this country ; and he frequently bears testimony to the tranquillity which the nation experienced when he assumed the reins of administration. It was now reasonable that the thousands of the Irish people who were reduced to beggary by the infamous arrangement called the act of settlement, should at this period appeal to a monarch who was disposed to protect them—at least to make them some compensation for the distress and injustice, which they experienced from that disastrous measure. Almost twenty years had elapsed since the passing of the act of settlement, and the evils attending the repeal, might now have in a great measure counterbalanced the advantages. The protestants might have been drawn into a rebellion, and the catholics might again be exposed to the horrors of another convulsion ; for the present, therefore, the repeal of this act was not pressed, but the army and corporations were new modelled. It appears, that the instructions of James went no farther, than, that all subjects indiscriminately, should be admitted to

serve him, without regard to their religious principles; but the Earl of Tyrconnel gave full swing to his attachments, and excluded the protestants from the Irish army. The expectations of the people naturally rose with the protection they received, and they flattered themselves with the restoration of those properties of which they were so cruelly deprived. Such a revolution could not easily take place during the administration of Clarendon. It was therefore resolved that he should surrender his situation to a man who would follow the wishes of the people and the sovereign with less reluctance. Were the readers of Mr Leland to give implicit credit to every accusation he has brought against the violence of the catholics during this administration, he would be inclined to agree with this most fanatical persecutor of that great body, that there should be no relaxation to the controul of protestant ascendancy. But Mr Leland (who copies all his statements from Archbishop King, and who has forgotten to give any part of the triumphant refutation written by Mr Leslie, a distinguished protestant divine, in 1692, which the archbishop never had the confidence to reply to,) seems to have employed all his industry to represent the conduct of the catholics during the reign of James II., in such a light as would vindicate that infamous penal code which was soon after imposed on the unoffending catholics of Ireland. Archbishop King, whose narration is as absurd as it is false, determined to atone, by the profligacy of his falsehoods against the Irish, for the principles he

maintained, when he considered James secure in the seat of sovereignty.* Mr Leslie, in his reply to

* We have set forth many instances in which the pious and honest archbishop has been directly contradicted by the highest and most respectable authority : but as the great majority of the readers of this compendium may never have had an opportunity of seeing this very precious compilation of lies, which Mr Leland has thought proper to make the principal source of his information during the reign of James II. we shall here set down two passages which will enable the intelligent reader to form his conclusions respecting either the religion or the integrity of the reverend bishop. To those who have perused the vicious absurdities of poor Sir Richard Musgrave, who wrote an account of all the murders, rapes, and robberies committed by the Irish in the year 1798, and from whose production Lord Cornwallis, when lord lieutenant of Ireland, peremptorily and indignantly ordered the author to take his name, lest the world should conclude that his Lordship was the patron of such destructive nonsense ;—to those also, who had witnessed the steady going, trading, political gait of Dr Patrick Duigenan, and who have read that sweet and pious doctor's anathemas against his countrymen, the quotations we shall make from the pages of Archbishop King, will not perhaps be matter of great surprise. It is more than probable that the fancy of either Musgrave or Duigenan may have outrun even the inflamed imagination of King ; if so, certainly Duigenan and Musgrave are objects of greater curiosity, when we consider the enlightened days in which it has been their good or ill fortune to live. The dissenters of the present day from the religion of the catholic, join with the latter in the general laugh at the comical credulity of these polemics ; and the British parliament, who are sometimes put to the torture by Duigenan, are obliged, in self-defence, to quit the house when the doctor rises. If Archbishop King commits an outrage on the feelings or the common sense of his reader of the present day, the latter should make some allowance for the period in which the bishop wrote his calumnies. He himself, according to Dr Leslie, was once the ardent advocate of James II. and passive obedience. The scene changed ; and William being in possession, the learned

Archbishop King, has the following anecdote of the archbishop, which this libeller of the Irish catholic never thought proper to contradict :

doctor had no protection against his past errors, but the fury of his denunciations against his old friends. It was, therefore, in his opinion, most prudent to represent the catholics of Ireland, who were the leading and ascendant party during James's government in Ireland, as monsters, cut-throats, murderers, perjurers, robbers—and worse, if the English language could produce more opprobrious denominations. Like Musgrave, Archbishop King estimates the truth of his facts by their atrocity, and, as has been often said of our modern retailers of murders, he would give little thanks for any story in which one or two murders at least, were not there committed. Archbishop King gives to his reader an account of the various expedients adopted by James II. and the Irish catholics, to destroy the property of their protestant countrymen. It was an ingenious contrivance, no doubt : but one which, Archbishop King says, would have never been thought of, were it not for the diabolical but fertile fancy of the abandoned Irish catholic priests. We do not want the authority of Mr Leslie or Lord Clarendon to contradict the silly statement we are now about to extract from Archbishop King ; but the reader will not forget that even this is moderation, compared with many pages which we would not excite his disgust by quoting.

“ During the reign of James II. in Ireland, estates, both in city and country, were rendered fruitless to protestants ; but yet, whilst the cattle and the great manufactories and staple commodities of the kingdom were in their hands ; whilst they had the wool and the hides, the tallow and the butter, which bring in all the money that is in the kingdom, all the former arts would not have undone them ; and therefore some means must be used to get their stocks from them. It seemed not decent for the government to seize on them as they seized on our houses and arms. It was not thought prudent to give a positive order for doing it—the truth is, there was no need of it ; it was sufficient to connive at the new raised men to have it done. The priests had every man that came to mass to get a skeep and half pike,

“No man,” says Mr Leslie, “was or could be a higher assertor of passive obedience than Dr

at least ; and they whispered to the people that it was not for nothing that they were thus armed. They assured them, that whatever injury they did to their protestant neighbours would be forgiven them, only they advised them not to shed blood ; sometimes they went along to see it effectually done, and sometimes they imposed it as a penance on such as came to them for absolution, to rob some of their protestant neighbours. This (says the honest doctor,) may seem improbable, but we have had creditable informations of it, and it will not seem so unlikely, if we consider that the priests reckoned the taking and keeping them no sin ; and lastly, that some of the greatest of those robberies were committed in lent, when they do their penances ; and therefore they could not be tempted at that time to steal and kill in order to eat, for in some places they killed whole flocks, and left them dead on the place. These robberies began in November 1688 ; and by the end of March next after, they hardly left one protestant in Ireland a cow or a sheep. Ireland has always been famous for its pastures, and the riches of it have always consisted in cattle, of which many gentlemen had vast stocks ; for a man to have six, eight, or ten thousand sheep was very common. All these were gone in three months, to the value of at least a million of money ; which, if rightly managed, would, with the cows and bullocks, of which there were likewise great herds, have furnished an army of one hundred thousand men with flesh enough for three years. Those who took them from the protestants, destroyed them without consideration : they killed them by fifties, and threw them into bog pits ; they took off their skins, and left their carcasses to rot, and made all the havoc of them imaginable.”

So goes the worthy bishop from the beginning to the end of one shocking mass of horrible impossibilities ; and to crown this work, he gravely states, that the chief justice of the king's bench, and all the judges of that day, not only suffered the committers of such incredible outrages to go unpunished, but did actually declare that such robberies, as this bishop describes, were “ necessary evils.” The most savage nations cannot produce such

King had been all his lifetime. Even at the beginning of the revolution, he told a person of ho-

an administration of justice as Ireland must have suffered under in 1689, if a tenth of the report of Archbishop King be well founded. The archbishop passes from the persecution of the cows and sheep and pigs of the Irish protestants by James and his judges, to their equally relentless persecution of their religion and its pastors. A good deal of the virulence and malignity which the following lines exhibit, may be traced to that unfortunate *esprit de corps* which too often distinguishes ecclesiastics of all persuasions ; but the representation here given is so contrary to truth, that it required all the bishop's impudence to obtrude it on his reader. We shall close this note with a few extracts from somewhat better authorities than Dr King, to show that the poor doctor must have been smiling when he was writing the following very comical fiction :

“ I might add (writes the doctor,) as a fifth means of destroying the protestant religion, and slackening discipline, the universal corruption of manners that was encouraged at court. I do not charge King James with this in his own person, nor will I insinuate that he designed it, though he took no care to redress it ; but it looked like a design in some, and whether designed or no, it served the ends more than can easily be imagined, and opened a wide door for it. That kingdom that is very corrupt in morals, and debauched, is in a very fair way to embrace that persuasion ; and generally these proselytes were such as had renounced Christianity in their practice before they renounced the principles thereof, as taught in the reformed churches ; and many Roman catholics declared that they would rather have us profess no religion at all than the protestant. In short, whether it was from the looseness of the principles of their religion, or from a design to gain on protestants, impiety, profaneness and libertinism were highly encouraged and favoured ; and it was observable, that very few came with King James into Ireland, that were remarkable for any strictness or severity of life ; but rather, on the other hand, they were generally signal for their viciousness and looseness of morals. The perjuries in the courts, the robberies in the country, the lewd practices in the

nour, from whose mouth I had it, that ' if the Prince of Orange came over for the crown, he

stores, the oaths, blasphemies and curses in the streets and armies, the drinking of confusions and damnations in towns, were all of them generally acts of papists. This universal viciousness (continues the pious doctor) made discipline impossible, and whatever protestants were infected with it, were entirely lost to their religion and the church ; for the stress of salvation, according to the principles of the reformed religion, depends on virtue and holiness of life, without which neither sorrow for sin nor devotion will do a man any justice ; whereas, he that hears mass daily in the Roman church, kneels often before a crucifix, and believes firmly that the Roman church is the catholic, and that all out of her communion are damned, makes not the least doubt of his salvation, though he be guilty of habitual swearing, drunkenness, and many other vices ; and the observation of this indulgence gained them most of their proselytes that went over to them, of the lewd women and corrupted gentry ; and many amongst themselves had so great a sense of this advantage, that it made them very favourable to debauchery, and openly profess that they had a much better opinion of their lewdest persons that died in their own communion, than of the strictest and most devout protestant ; and they would often laugh at our scrupling a sin, and our constancy and prayers, since, as they would assure us with many oaths, we must only be damned the deeper for our diligence ; and they could not endure to find us go about to punish vice in our own members ; since, said they, it is to no purpose to trouble yourselves about vice or virtue, that are out of the church, and will all be damned."

These extracts from the pious and Christian labours of this liberal archbishop, will, it is hoped, satisfy the reader. He will ask himself, perhaps, is this the authority on which Mr Leland founds his defamatory account of the state of Ireland, during the reign of James II. ? or has the Irish protestant been doomed to get from the hands of a protestant clergyman, almost of the present day, a second edition of that vile absurd scurrility which excites the disgust and indignation of every enlightened protestant who reads it ? Dr Curry, whose memory should for ever be dear

prayed God might blast his designs!" This, no doubt, was a most pious ejaculation, and one

to Ireland, has done a good deal in the refutation of these infamous slanders, which the candidates for mitres have so industriously circulated. Dr Leslie, who replied to Archbishop King, and whose reply never was answered nor contradicted, gives a very different account of the practices and conduct of the protestant clergy; to which practices he attributes the rapid decay of that religion in Ireland. Dr Leslie, being a protestant clergyman himself, is no bad authority on such a subject; he thus writes: "I was myself a witness, that atheism, contempt of all religion, debauchery and violence, were more notorious and universal in the protestant army in Ireland, from 1688 to 1692, and more publicly owned, than since I have known the world. To my knowledge several have turned papists, on account of the lewdness of the army and the apostacy of the clergy." Marshal Schomberg, in a letter to King William, thus writes his opinion on the same subject:—"I did not find (says the General) that the protestant clergy apply themselves enough to their duty,—while the Romish priests are passionate to exhort the people to die for the church of Rome, in putting themselves at their head."—This letter is dated December 1689.—*Dalrymple's Memoirs*, vol. III. p. 59.

But Bishop Burnet is still more explicit in his reasons for the very corrupt state of the protestant church, during the pious ministry of Archbishop King; and the reader will find a good portrait of Archbishop King himself, drawn by the hand of his episcopal brother. "A disbelief (says Bishop Burnet, in his History of his own Times) of revealed religion, a profane mocking of the Christian faith and the mysteries of it, became scandalous and avowed; and it must be confessed, that the behaviour of many protestant clergymen during the time of James II. gave atheists no small advantage. They had taken the oaths to read the prayers for the present government; they observed the orders for public fasts and thanksgivings; and yet they showed in many places their aversion to our establishment too visibly. This made many conclude that the protestant clergy were a sort of men that would swear and pray even against their consciences rather than lose

which cannot fail to raise the person who uttered it very high in the estimation of a protestant reader. Yet this man, who thus swore, was one of

their benefices ; and by consequence, that they were governed by interest and not by principle. Upon the whole matter, the nation was falling into a general corruption, both as to morals and principles ; and that was so much spread among all sorts of people, that it gave us great apprehensions of heavy judgments from Heaven."

Here the reader sees a protestant depose against another protestant bishop ; and Queen Mary, in a letter to her husband William, July 1690, thus gives her opinion :—" I must put you in mind of one thing, believing it is now the season, (the king was then in Ireland) which is, that you would take care of the protestant church in Ireland ; every body agrees that at present it is the worst in Christendom." Yet such a revered pastor as Archbishop King, feels himself perfectly warranted to read lectures on morality and religion to the catholic clergy of Ireland. The reader will now be able to judge the quantum of Christian benevolence, and mildness and toleration, to which this ecclesiastical authority of Mr Leland may fairly lay claim. So much as we have here set down is only due to the acknowledged purity of character of which the catholic clergy may boast, during the sad and varied misfortunes of their country. The circumstances in which they have been ever placed since the Reformation, in a great manner induced that unbending integrity and truth which so eminently distinguished them. These were the great bonds which bound them to the people—which made the latter bow to their authority and obey their instructions. It was this Christian courage, which no disasters of their country could shake, that has made them so powerful and influential among their flocks, and which, since the Revolution, has made the best men in the whole circle of society the most formidable to governments of intolerance. It is qualities like those which suggested to the narrow and prejudiced the necessity of a controul to counterbalance their authority ; such a controul as would lead to the gradual corruption of the priest, and the certain overthrow of his proper influence.

the most crouching sycophants to that very king whose designs he prayed God to blast. But Mr Leslie continues to describe this gospel authority of Mr Leland. "In a letter to a person of undoubted credit, in the year 1686, Archbishop King thus wrote:" (and the reader is requested to attend to the slippery materials of which some churchmen are composed) "that 'the principle of non-resistance was a steady principle of loyalty;' and that 'it was intolerable for the members of any state to flee to foreign succours, on the pretence that their own governors had made laws against reason, conscience, and justice;' yet this is one of the principal arguments in the book above-mentioned, for justifying the revolution. What I have now written," says Mr Leslie, "I have from the person who wrote it; and if he desires it, his letter shall be produced." Archbishop King did not court an investigation of his old principles, and was silent; he trusted entirely to the fury of his hostility against the Irish, for the quantity of credit which he might possibly enjoy with his English reader. Such is the foundation or authority on which Mr Leland builds his charges against the Irish, during the reign of James II. With respect to Archbishop King's book, called "The State of the Protestants in Ireland, during the Reign of James II.," Mr Leslie gave it the following character in 1692. "I cannot say that I have examined into every single matter of fact which this author relates; I could not have the opportunity; but I am sure I have looked into the most material,

and by these you may easily judge of his sincerity in the rest: but this I can say, that there is not one I have inquired into, but I have found false in the whole, or in part aggravated or misrepresented, so as to alter the whole face of the story, and give it perfectly another air and turn, insomuch that though many things he says are true, yet *he has hardly spoken a true word*; that is, told it truly and nakedly without a warp." And Mr Leslie further adds, that "when Dr King seems most exact, and sets his quotations in the margin, that his reader may suspect nothing, then he is to suspect most, and stand upon his guard." The archbishop survived the publication of Mr Leslie's reply for thirty years, and continued during that long period unmoved by the triumphant refutation of his slanders against the Irish.

The Earl of Clarendon has, in his letters, refuted most of the calumnies of Archbishop King. As lord lieutenant, he had the best opportunity of seeing the conduct and ascertaining the disposition of the catholics during this period of their history. Were we to credit King, we should conclude that the moment the catholics got into power they commenced an atrocious legal persecution against the unfortunate protestant. That there were bitter resentments rankling in the bosom of the Irish catholics; that many of them would have seized this opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their old oppressors; that they would have sought the restoration of those properties of which they thought themselves most unjustly deprived; that many of

them considered the protestants their most inveterate enemies—are facts which require no evidence to demonstrate the truth of. He who has gone through the pages which precede this reign, will not wonder that human nature should have so felt or so acted. It is the miserable, but necessary consequence of the cruelties and persecutions they experienced ; and one which should have taught all future governments, that sooner or later the despot meets his punishment in the unpitying vengeance of the persecuted. Yet we have the best authority for stating, that the catholics of 1685 did not turn upon their old pursuers, as Archbishop King describes ; and that the most enlightened and distinguished among them were disposed to demean themselves by their protestant countrymen with the mildest spirit of toleration. The Earl of Clarendon has vindicated the Irish catholics against the calumnies of their enemies ; and his authority will not be denied, who was considered by the protestants of Ireland their most anxious patron. Archbishop King states, that “ when the papists,” as he is pleased to call the Irish catholics, “ got judges and juries that would believe them, they began a trade of swearing and ripping up what they pretended their protestant neighbours had said of King James, when Duke of York, on the time of the popish plot ;” and that of those protestants “ many were found guilty and excessively fined, and some of them imprisoned for their fines, not being able to satisfy the king, who seized both their body and estates :” so writes the archbishop ;

but what says the Earl of Clarendon? He tells us, that “when catholic judges went to the assizes in the counties of Down and Londonderry, where many considerable persons were to be tried for words formerly spoken against James, they took as much pains as was possible to quiet the minds of the people wherever they went, and that they took care to have all the juries mingled half English and half Irish.” Is it thus justice is administered to the catholics, even at the present day? Are protestant judges found recommending the equitable principle that the catholic should be tried by a jury, half English and half Irish, or in other words, half protestant and half catholic? But Archbishop King particularises the county Meath as the principal theatre on which the catholics displayed their persecuting spirit. Lord Clarendon’s account is somewhat different; and his lordship too, with respect to the county Meath, is not less particular than the archbishop. He says, “that Judge Daly, one of the catholic judges, did, at the assizes of that county, enlarge much on the unconscionableness of indicting men upon words spoken so many years before; that he told the jury, that most of those then charged before him in court, could give a good account of themselves, and were well known in the counties where they lived; and that thereupon the jurors, the major part of whom were Irish, acquitted them. Mr Justice Nugent, another catholic judge, made the same declaration at Drogheda, where several persons were tried for words upon bills found at the former assizes, and they were all acquitted,

except one man, who was found guilty and fined in five pounds."

But the Earl Clarendon gives a stronger instance of the spirit of equity and moderation, which influenced the conduct of the principal Irish catholics,—of the men who had the power to injure and oppress, if they were inclined. This single instance is a sufficient reply to the archbishop's entire book. Lord Clarendon, in a letter to Lord Sunderland, the confidential minister of James, writes as follows: "It is thought fit I should recommend men to some towns for mayors, sheriffs, and common council men. In such cases, I advise with those who are best acquainted with those towns, particularly with Mr Justice Daly* (a catholic judge) and others of the king's council of that persuasion, and the lists of the names those men give me, are always equal, half English and half Irish, which they say is the best way to unite and make them live friendly together."

Mr Leland has artfully set down the intemperance of the Earl of Tyrconnel for the settled principles of the enlightened catholics, who occupied the highest situations of honour and profit under the crown. He speaks in terms of contempt of those distinguished lawyers and judges, of whom the Earl of Clarendon, who daily experienced the greatness of their talents and the purity of their principles, constantly speaks with respect and vene-

* It is hoped that the protestant Justice, Daly, of 1813, will take a note of this passage; he will not be the worse for it.

ration. At the same time that he deprecates the violence of Tyrconnel, he feebly admits the claims which the most leading catholics had on the respect of their protestant countrymen. The Earl of Clarendon was obliged to give way to the Earl of Tyrconnel. The ministers of James suspected that Clarendon was not sufficiently zealous in the cause of their master, and that the royal interests, even in his short administration, might be much better secured. The people of England had now been convinced of the real views of James ; that he had determined to put himself above the laws of their country ; to change their religion, and with their religion, those precious privileges for which they had so long struggled. The king, on the other hand, saw the public mind receding from him, and considered the importance of effecting a secure retreat in the affections of his Irish subjects. He had completely broken with the church, and now endeavoured to play off the presbyterians and catholics against his ecclesiastical enemies. He had resolved to give the fullest toleration to the catholics, and declared his hostility to all those persecuting laws which, from the influence of the church, had been enacted both against the dissenters and catholics. " Not content," says Mr Hume, " with granting dispensations to particular persons, he assumed the power of issuing a declaration of general indulgence, and of suspending, at once, all the penal statutes by which a conformity was required to the established religion. James determined, if possible, to conquer the free spirit of

Englishmen ; he trampled on those securities which they considered as the bulwarks of their liberty ; and thus admitted into the bosom of the constitution, that party who would not hesitate in co-operating with James to destroy it." The people of Ireland, the great majority of whom were catholic, naturally glowed with enthusiastic gratitude to that monarch who had so generously struck off the bolts of the penal laws, and had admitted every man in Ireland, without any restraint on his conscience or violation of his religious principles, to enjoy the highest privileges of the state. They rejoiced to see their countryman, the Earl of Tyrconnel, invested with full powers to put into execution the royal wishes ; and though the enemies of Ireland have represented this Irish nobleman as violent, tyrannical, furious, and precipitate, yet he succeeded, in a short time, so to new-model every branch of political power in Ireland, that the Irish nation was, in the hour of James's adversity, the last and strongest pillar of his power. The law, the army, and the corporations, were soon filled with catholics, and the parliament shortly partook of the character of the corporations. That the protestants, who had so long maintained an exclusive monopoly of all the emoluments and honours of office, who were the legislators and administrators of law, who enjoyed an undivided controul over the property and industry of the country, should now be loud in their complaints against the audacious innovation which admitted the people of Ireland to a participation of the constitution, is to be ex-

pected by every man who reflects for a moment on the rapacity of that political ambition which never can be satiated; which sees the destruction of its power in the communication of the privileges it enjoys, and which is perpetually insulting the victims of its oppression by their clamorous panegyrics on their free constitution. The protestants of this day loudly clamoured against the tolerant spirit of their king; and as the English were the enemies of James, because he contemplated the establishment of unlimited monarchy, the Irish protestants were his enemies, because he resolved on the destruction of their monopoly.

The Earl of Tyrconnel had nearly accomplished the object of his sovereign in Ireland, when the news arrived, that the Prince of Orange had determined to invade England, and drive the English monarch from his throne. The rumour flew through Ireland, and all classes of the people were thrown into confusion. The protestants, who were no longer the governors of Ireland, panted for a return of their monopoly, and the catholics trembled for the safety of that king from whom they had experienced such protection. The Irish nation were immediately in arms to defend their sovereign; and from the zeal and determination which the Irish, in 1688, manifested in favour of James's cause, may the kings of England learn how easy it is to command their fidelity and allegiance. Mr Leland says, an armed rabble arose at the call of the Irish priests; but the same historian is obliged to confess, that this same armed rabble had nearly

disputed with success the rights of sovereignty with William. It is acknowledged, that if conducted with the spirit and the energy of such a commander as the English army enjoyed, the result of the struggle would have been the victory of Irish valour. Various expedients were adopted to rouse the apprehensions of the protestants of Ireland. Anonymous letters were industriously circulated, announcing a general massacre; and the deception so far succeeded, as to work upon the fears of the protestant inhabitants of Derry to such a degree, that they shut its gates against the king's troops, and determined to wait the arrival of the English rebels, to whom they immediately sent their ambassadors. Enniskillen followed the example of Derry, and parties arose in all the northern counties, declaring their determination to co-operate with the English in defence of the constitution and the protestant religion. The city of Derry and the town of Enniskillen sent forward their commissioners to Lord Clarendon, in whom they reposed their confidence, praying him to lay their grievances and present situation before King William. The latter received their ambassadors with the warmest promises of his protection, and assured them that he would take care of the Irish protestant." In the mean time, Tyrconnel was encouraged by a message from James, who had fled to France, that he would shortly assert his rights in person, and that he would make Ireland the theatre of the struggle. Lord Inchiquin headed the protestants of Munster, and Lord Kingston those of Connaught. Animated by the

hope of aid from England, the north eastern towns of Ireland proclaimed William and Mary. An energetic movement of the Irish government soon dissipated this little spirit of resistance. The rebels were driven from town to town, and the city of Derry alone was able or willing to defy the menaces of the viceroy. In the meantime, James arrived from France to contend for his crown and dominions. It appears, that either the pride or the ambition of James completely damped the ardour of the French minister in the cause of the Irish nation. Louvois, who was at this time the minister of Lewis XIV., proffered ample supplies of men, money and arms, to James; but connected his offers of aid with a request that the expedition for Ireland should be commanded by his son, that he might have the honour, as he observed, of preserving one crown for his majesty. This James, in an unhappy moment, refused. The friendship of Louvois changed to an implacable hostility, which he gratified, to the defeating of the best interests of Lewis, and the fatal effects of which James experienced in an ample degree in some time after. The Earl of Tryconnel could not be intimidated by the threats nor seduced by the promises of William, to abandon his master; he preserved the sovereignty of James entire and undisturbed, except in one corner of the kingdom; and an unfortunate policy alone contributed to make this the most fatal resistance to the arms of James. James sailed from France with fourteen ships of war, six frigates, and three fire ships.

Twelve hundred of his own native subjects, and one hundred French officers, formed his army. He arrived at Kinsale on the 12th of March. Tyrconnel immediately went to Cork, where he was created a duke.

The people made extraordinary demonstrations of joy in all parts, having never seen a king in the kingdom since Richard II. The Duke of Berwick, in his memoirs, says that addresses poured from all parts;—that the king received equal attention from all classes, protestant and catholic. He issued his proclamation for the meeting of parliament in Dublin on the 7th May, 1689. He then sent forward detachments of his army to reduce the rebels of the north, and particularly the city of Derry, which was then the great depot of rebellion. The besieged prepared for a vigorous defence. Walker, a protestant clergyman, was chosen governor. This divine distinguished himself by the intrepidity of his spirit, and the judiciousness of his arrangements. He left no expedient untried to animate his fellow soldiers in the defence of the last retreat of the friends of William. He appealed to their religious feelings, and boldly called upon them to defend their free constitution against the threats of despotism, and the protestant religion against the abominable superstitions of catholicity. In Berwick's memoirs, we read that eighteen clergymen of the established church shared the dangers of the siege, and harangued their flocks. Every effort which human courage, or the military knowledge of that day could suggest, was adopted to force the

gallant men under the command of Walker to surrender; every privation was borne by the besieged with a fortitude which challenges our credulity, and the most desperate expedients of the Irish commanders were defeated by a heroism which is not surpassed in ancient or modern days.

There was one threat held out to intimidate the besieged, disgraceful to the general who conceived it. It was as barbarous as it was foolish, and recoiled on the hand who had the cruelty to put it in execution. Marshal de Rosen, who commanded the besieging army, threatened to drive all the protestants who inhabited the surrounding country under the walls of Derry, naked and defenceless, unless its defenders immediately surrendered. The garrison remained unmoved by the barbarity of this cowardly menace. The threat of de Rosen was enforced; but, by the express order of James, the unhappy victims of this infamous idea were rescued from the most distressing situation. Soon after, this brave garrison was relieved by the presence of an English convoy, who succeeded in entering the city, and supplying the almost exhausted inhabitants with every necessary they required. De Rosen seeing the garrison relieved, immediately returned to Dublin, leaving a strong force in Charlemont. Every reader must admire the bold intrepidity with which Dr Walker and his brave companions defended the city against the great force which James was able to bring against them. Mr Leland and other colonial writers are loud in the praises of this ecclesiastical hero, who thus preserved the cause

and the religion of the protestants in Ireland. We join most willingly in the general acclamation ; but we cannot here refrain from calling to the reader's recollection how different an opinion Mr Leland entertains of those illustrious catholic clergymen, who, under circumstances somewhat similar to those of Dr Walker, sacrificed their lives in defence of their religion and their liberties. With Mr Leland, such clergymen, so acting, merited the scaffold. It is in such instances Mr Leland's sectarian prejudices are most unjust and ungenerous.

When Dr Walker and his eighteen clerical companions in arms animated the protestant inhabitants of Derry to arms, they acted under the conviction that they were defending the cause of liberty as well as religion. Dr Walker could not distinguish the little circle in which the Irish protestants moved, from the great circle of Ireland, in which the catholic people were the majority. Dr Walker conceived that protestant liberty consisted in catholic dishonour and degradation, and that the ascendancy of his religion in the state was essential to the safety of his political freedom. He acted under this conception, however erroneous, and he acted with a spirit and a heroism worthy of a more generous cause. Every enlightened reader must applaud the man, though he may at the same moment lament that so much valuable blood was profusely shed in support of a monopoly which, in the following years, withered the rich and fertile fields of our country.

The Irish army being obliged to abandon the

siege of Derry, James returned to Dublin, in 1689, where he assembled the parliament; he also published his declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, promising to the protestant as well as the catholic, an equal and impartial share of the royal protection. It appears that no sentiment at this period could be more ungrateful to protestant ears than the sentiment of universal toleration. There was no political liberty, in the opinion of that age, which did not create a torturing ascendancy; and those principles which would conciliate the hearts and affections of all enlightened protestants of the present day, were the most efficient means of generating distrust and hostility in the bosoms of their ancestors. James's declaration, therefore, in favour of toleration, was the signal which united protestant England against his pretensions to recover his throne. The Irish parliament now proceeded to the adoption of a measure which threatened to overturn the English interest entirely; namely, the repeal of the act of settlement.* Such a proceeding,

* We believe it may with justice be asserted, that there cannot be found in the annals of political depravity a more abandoned act of legislation than the act of settlement to which Charles II. gave his consent, and which went not only to plunder the most constant and incorruptible friends to his restoration, but enrich and aggrandize their most inveterate enemies.

That Ireland should have seized the first opportunity to assert her rights, to close the yet bleeding wounds of her children, is the first impulse of our nature; and if not embraced when fortune favoured her, would be unaccountable for by any rule whereby human conduct is generally directed. Mr Leland, and all other colonial writers who have preceded him, always take a part for the whole of the Irish nation; they talk of the few, and for-

however ruinous it must be to a large portion of innocent and unoffending persons, who then held

get the many ; they cling to their darling ascendancy, and plunge into oblivion the great mass of catholic population by which they were surrounded. Such writers misled and deceived ; the system of policy which they recommend an English government in Ireland to adopt, is narrowed to the wretched foundation which they have laid, as if the materials which might be suited to the building of a cabin, could by any possibility be ever applied to the building of a castle. The perfection of Irish government, in the opinion of such writers, is the swollen and bloated corpulency of ascendancy, and an impoverished and worn-down people. If the doors are well barred, and the prisoners well bolted, if the jail be secure, this is the summit of good government, and the great secret by which Irish affairs can best be administered. The act of settlement robbed the Irish people, to enrich (comparatively speaking) a handful of miserable adventurers from England. Ireland, when her arms were unbound, in 1687, claimed her property, and expelled the invaders of her rights, no matter what religion these invaders professed. This was as it ought to be ; but time, which is the grand disposer and settler of all human affairs, has given a stability and duration to this act, which obliterates all the ideas of injustice that justly exasperated the Irish catholic of 1687. Lord Clare, in the year 1789, thus spoke of the act of settlement ; and when the reader considers the fatal politics of this very remarkable Irish senator, he will perhaps more highly estimate the opinions which he has delivered on Irish affairs. The constant reviler of his country, he employed his great talents to effect its complete subjugation to England ; he laughed at the policy which so long contributed to ennoble and enrich Ireland, and at last succeeded in accomplishing her humiliation, and his own ruin. When his country was prostrate at the feet of the English minister, he found, when it was too late, that he lost the firm footing on which all his greatness stood. The first man in Ireland made but a sorry figure in the Imperial senate, where he was doomed to be reproached by the noble advocates of English liberty, with being the willing instrument of his country's degradation. The re-

their properties under the act of settlement, it must be confessed to be a natural and obvious act

buke preyed on his ambitious spirit, and the tomb soon concealed him from the pity or the detestation of the empire. This unfortunate nobleman thus spoke of the act of settlement in 1789. " Give me leave to say, Sir, when we speak of the people of Ireland, it is a melancholy truth that we do not speak of the great body of the people. This is a subject on which it is extremely painful to me to speak in this assembly; but when I see the Right Hon. Member (Mr Grattan) driving the gentlemen of Ireland to the verge of a precipice, it is necessary to speak out. Sir, The ancient nobility and gentry of this kingdom have been hardly treated. That act by which most of us hold our estates, was an act of violence, an act palpably subverting the first principles of the common law of England and Ireland. I speak of the act of settlement passed in this country immediately after the restoration, which vests the estate of every man, who had been dispossessed during the rebellion of 1641, absolutely in the Crown, and puts the old proprietors to the necessity of proving that they had not been guilty of high treason, in order to avoid the penalties of confiscation, which, by the sacred and fundamental principles of the common law, can be incurred only upon conviction and attainder. And, that gentlemen may know the extent to which this summary confiscation is gone, I will tell them that every acre of land in the country that pays quit-rent to the Crown, is held by title under the act of settlement; so that I trust the gentlemen on the opposite benches will deem it a subject worthy of their consideration, how far it may be prudent to pursue the successive claims of dignified and unequivocal independence made for Ireland by the Right Hon. Gentleman, (Mr Grattan.)"

Here stands the opinion of an Irish protestant of the highest rank and talent in the legislature, of the merits of the act of settlement, and that opinion delivered one hundred and twenty years after this infamous act was passed. If such were his feelings and sentiments with regard to its merits, what must have been the feelings of those whose families were beggared by its enactment, and who in 1687 enjoyed the opportunity of repealing it? Yet

of retribution to the thousands who had been beggared by that act, and who were now shedding

the colonial writers of Irish history declaim, in furious and abusive language, against the injustice of restoring property to its rightful owner. The protestant of the present day is too enlightened and too liberal to refuse his acknowledgment of the cruelty of the act of settlement, and the right which the Irish nation had to resume their plundered property. The catholic reads the sufferings of his ancestors with an honest and generous sympathy, but he sees that whatever property he himself now enjoys, is depending on the duration of this very act which the Irish parliament of 1687 repealed. One hundred years have made the protestant and catholic title the same. Both are equally interested in each other's security. The liberal and enlightened policy of the last thirty years has thrown into oblivion the oppression of fanaticism, and the suspicions of the protestant no longer interrupt that confidence which all sects should repose in each other. Mr Grattan, in his profound and statesman-like speech of 1792, for ever silenced the objections grounded on the supposed event of the Irish catholic repealing the act of settlement. "Whatever, therefore, (says our great countryman,) may be the crime of the catholic to ground a code of disability, there is one offence of which he is not, and of which he cannot now be guilty—disaffection; because the objects and the resources of disaffection, and with them the principle itself, must have departed. His offence is therefore reduced to two heads—his nativity, as connected with claims of property, and his religion, as distinct from views of politics. As to the first, he strongly and immediately meets the charge; he denies the possibility of their existence. He denies that he could benefit or you lose by the repeal of the act of settlement; he relies upon it that your title is by time, as well as by act of parliament; he insists that a greater number of Roman catholics *take* under the act of settlement, than could prefer claims on the repeal of it; that such claims, if any, are common to you, as your title under the act of settlement is common to him; and he offers you any assurance, not only for your titles, which he reveres, but for your fears, which he respects; and he alleges that the whole catholic body are rea-

their blood in the cause of James and the crown of England. That such men should be attended to, when they remonstrated against the injustice under which they and their families had suffered for twenty years, is not surprising, when we consider that the relations and the friends of these very men who then possessed large and extensive properties under the act of settlement, were in arms against their lawful king, and struggling to drive him from his throne. With regard to Ireland, it was at this period a proceeding of great public justice to repeal the act of settlement to which the perfidious Charles assented; but with regard to England, it might have been more judicious not to adopt a measure which might have created such inveterate hostility. James was against the repeal; but the voice of the nation was irresistible, and the act of settlement was overturned, with few dissenting voices. They then proceeded to attain all absentees who would not return to their country and join the royal standard. But let us now pass on to the more grateful office of recording those acts, in which this catholic and protestant parliament (for it was a mixed

dy and desirous to take the same oath to secure the act of settlement, which you have thought sufficient to secure the succession to the Crown. He desires you to name your own conditions and terms of abjuration, touching any imputed claim on this subject. Thus the code of disabilities, as far as they are maintained on this ground, is reduced to an act of power, which disables three millions of people for the unallowable dissent of a few, grounded on the apprehension of claims imputed to that few, which they cannot trace, which none can make, and which all abjure."

assembly) have manifested a true Irish independent feeling ;—where we see our countrymen lifted up into the proud character of Irish legislators, making laws by which the independence of their country is asserted, and their past humility to England blotted from the records of an Irish parliament.

The laws which were enacted by this distinguished assembly of Irishmen, whom Mr Leland and other Irish calumniators are pleased to denominate a pretended parliament, were the true and genuine offspring of a sincere patriotism, not regulating its feelings by the measure of English toleration, but boldly and unequivocally asserting the rights and privileges of a free people. They first declared that the parliament of England cannot bind Ireland, and that the ultimate appeal should for the future be placed in the Irish house of lords. They passed an act in favour of liberty of conscience, and for repealing all acts, or clauses in any act of parliament, which are inconsistent with the same. They passed an act for the encouragement of strangers of all sects and denominations to inhabit and plant in the kingdom of Ireland. They also passed an act for the advance and improvement of trade, and for the encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation. These were the great leading and distinguished works of the Irish parliament which met in the year 1689. Let this parliament, then, be judged by its acts ; let it be compared with that assembly which, under the direction of Mr Grattan's eloquence, established a free constitution for

the protestants of Ireland in 1782. The reader will see the great superiority of the acts of parliament of 1689, in the single consideration that Mr Grattan's parliament legislated for a part—the parliament of 1689 legislated for the whole. Mr Grattan, no doubt, established a free trade, and thus gave liberty to the industry of Ireland, without distinction of religion ; but he could not, even in his independent parliament, communicate to the catholics of Ireland the free constitution he procured for the protestants. He could not establish the great comprehensive principle of liberty of conscience, nor overturn that religious monopoly, under whose withering influence the free trade and the free constitution of Mr Grattan little more than illuminated the prison of the catholic. In that Irish parliament which passed the acts we have recited, we see no effort to plunder the protestant by law, to deprive him of education, to set the protestant child against his father, to encourage perjury, to demoralize society, and to barbarize the country : those sacred labours were reserved for the loyal parliaments which were to follow. Let no man, therefore, insult the Irish understanding by his idle declamation against the bigotry of the Irish parliament of 1689. They broke the chains with which the intolerance of the reformers bound down the energies of our country; and set an example of public spirit, which was followed at an humble distance by the powerful genius of Grattan. Far be it from our intention to disparage the acts of this great and illustrious Irish senator. We hope we look back upon his labours

with the reverence due to the superiority of his genius, and the inflexibility of his integrity. But Mr Grattan could do no more with the materials he had to work with; he looked forward with generous enthusiasm to that hour when he could take, under the protecting shelter of his free constitution, the catholic as well as the protestant. He thought he had raised a flame of patriotism in the protestant bosom, which might, in no very remote day, communicate its light to the most distant corner of his country. He raised a vast superstructure on a small foundation; and in his endeavours to enlarge the base, the insidious artifices of monopoly overthrew the dazzling edifice, and buried his labours in the ruins.

This Irish parliament of 1689 was composed of protestants and catholics. It may not be uninteresting to the descendants of those men who took a part in the assertion of national freedom, to read over the names of their ancestors;* they will there find a full reply to the impudent accusation, that the liberal and enlightened catholic was the advocate of passive obedience. They will observe in the proceedings of this calumniated assembly, the true spirit of independence, taking such broad and firm ground as would have rendered it invincible under a monarch of courage or of talent. Mr Leland has industriously laboured to perpetuate the slanders of Archbishop King, and sets down such palpable absurdities as must excite the indignation of every

* See Appendix.

reader. It will not be supposed that at the very moment the Irish protestant was sitting on the same benches with his catholic countryman, making and administering the laws of his country, asserting the liberties and the rights of conscience, the catholic counsellors of King James should have been recommending his Majesty to order a public plundering of the bakers throughout the metropolis, in order that the protestants might be starved; yet Mr Leland feels it his duty, as an honest historian, to re-echo the vicious fabrication of King. "Yet certain it is," says Mr Leland, "that during that melancholy interval in which the popish laity were predominant, protestants felt all the distresses arising from a state of war and disorder, aggravated by the wanton insolence of their adversaries. If they attempted to purchase corn, or other provisions, with the brass coin, these were instantly seized for the king's use, and the proprietors imprisoned as men who intended to supply the enemy. 'We were at a loss,' saith Archbishop King, 'what the meaning of taking away corn from protestant farmers, housekeepers and bakers, should be, when there was no scarcity in the kingdom; but Sir Robert Parker, and some others, blabbed it out in the coffee-house, that they designed to starve one half of the protestants and hang the other, and that it would never be well till this was done. We were sensible that they were in earnest by the event; for no protestant could get a bit of bread, and hardly a drop of drink, in the whole city of Dublin. Twenty or thirty soldiers stood constantly about every bake-

house, and would not suffer a protestant to come in." Mr Leland is not content with taking this infamous and audacious falsehood from King; he consents to indorse it with his own opinion of its truth, and asserts its credibility without producing a single witness to confirm it. His observation is as follows: "Such representations are sometimes derided as the fictions of an inflamed fancy. But however improbable those instances of senseless tyranny may appear, they are confirmed by undoubted traditions received from the sufferers, and transmitted with every circumstance of credulity." The Irish catholic should no longer wonder, that the protestant youth who has been obliged to read the pages of Mr Leland, should have gone into the world with the prejudices of his preceptor. This single fact, to which neither the religion nor the patriotism of Mr Leland could prompt him to refuse his assent, is sufficient to corrupt the heart and bias the understanding of him who is taught to consider Mr Leland as an authority on whom he can rely—who swallows his calumnies as facts, and his destructive principles as the future guide of his political conduct. The march of education in this country has in a great measure dissipated the vicious labours of the bribed historian. The Irish mind investigates, reflects, and compares. The understanding is no longer outraged by the artifices of fraud, or the credulity of prejudice; the whole scene is carefully examined, and justice is at length performing her duty to an abused nation.

The Irish parliament had now (1689) proceeded a good way in laying the ground-work of Ireland's future independence and happiness, when the Duke of Schomberg, at the head of ten thousand men, invaded their country. He arrived at Carrickfergus on the 13th of August 1689, which, after some resistance, was obliged to yield to the superior power of the invader. The Duke of Berwick collected all the troops he could procure, and proceeded towards Newry to interrupt the progress of Schomberg. The Duke was soon followed by the Earl of Tyrconnel with twenty thousand men: Schomberg retreated, and fortifying himself in his camp, waited the advance of the Irish army. The generals of the latter preferred relying on the possible losses which the English might sustain in an unwholesome position, to any experiment by force to expel them their country. Half the English troops fell victims to disease; and Schomberg thus suffered the winter months to pass in an inglorious inactivity. His army, however, was soon reinforced in the spring of the following year. Seven thousand Danes joined the English, with an abundant supply of military stores for the use of Schomberg's troops. Schomberg immediately opened the campaign; and the fort of Charlemont, in the north of Ireland, was forced to surrender, after a bravely contested siege, under the command of Teague O'Regan. The slowness of Schomberg's progress in Ireland roused the impatience of William and the English nation, and he determined to put an end to the campaign in his own person. The English sovereign landed

at Carrickfergus, at the head of a large force, accompanied by the young Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Manchester. Harris, in his life of William, says, "the English army, when mustered at Loughbrickland, were at the lowest estimate thirty-six thousand strong, English, French, Dutch, Danes, and Brandenburgers, all well appointed in every respect." William immediately proceeded to arrange the operations of the campaign; for, says this active soldier, "I have not come to Ireland to let grass grow under my feet." James left Dublin the 16th of June, at the head of six thousand men, and proceeded to join his army, then encamped at Castle-town Bellew, near Dundalk. Never was a monarch supported in a contest for empire with more enthusiasm than James was by the Irish; and never was a victory more certain to Ireland, if it had pleased Providence that the director of her resources and her spirit had possessed the talents and the vigour necessary in so great a struggle.

While William halted at Newry three or four days, waiting for his artillery, and deliberating whether he should march straight to Dundalk, or take the road by Armagh, one of his reconnoitring parties was observed every night to insult a guard of cavalry posted at the pass of Half-way bridge, between Dundalk and Newry. A detachment of horse and foot was placed in ambuscade, under Colonel Dempsey and Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald, to cut it off, and succeeded. The party, consisting of two hundred foot, and sixty dragoons,

fell into ambuscade at day-break, and was almost entirely cut off or taken, with very little loss on the side of the Irish. As the army of William advanced, that of James retreated, to Ardee on the 23d of June, to Dumlave the 27th, and on the 28th passed the Boyne and encamped opposite the bridge, with the right towards Drogheda, and the left extending up the river. This appeared to James and his generals the best position in the country. He therefore resolved to continue there and wait his enemy's approach, though his army did not amount to more than twenty thousand, and that of William was nearer to forty thousand. It would have swelled the pages of this compendium to have entered minutely into the details of all the battles which we have recorded ; nor shall we now attempt to describe the fluctuating fortune of this great day, the 1st of July 1690, which decided the power of James and the liberties of Irishmen ; which once more gave up Ireland to a government of intolerance and the avarice of England ; which sacrificed the great majority to the monopoly of the few, and made that sect of our fellow christians, (who would in the present day communicate the blessings they enjoy) the task-masters rather than the fellow-subjects of their catholic countrymen.

We shall not fight the battle of the Boyne in this compendium ; but we will repeat the saying which is reported to have fallen from the Irish army when their monarch (though abandoning the field of battle and flying his country), complained of their inferiority to his English subjects. " Exchange com-

manders," said the Irish, "and we will fight the battle over again;"—a proud testimony to the valour and the conduct of William, and an ample commentary on that of his unfortunate competitor. The miserable results of this day's struggle seemed to have totally unmanned the vanquished James. He fled precipitately to Dublin, under the protection of his most illustrious general, Sarsfield, and from thence to Cork, where he embarked for France, leaving his faithful and brave people to struggle, as they might, with their common enemy. Such a king deserved the fate he experienced; he lost his empire, and he deserved to lose it. When this dastardly monarch arrived in Dublin, he assembled the magistracy, and declared his inability to defend them. Flight seemed to be his only object; and that consideration which should be his first, namely, the safety of his people, who stood by him in all his adversity, seemed to be the last sentiment of his coward heart. The Irish army, who now repaired to Limerick, still had leaders in whom they could confide. Sarsfield, the Dukes of Berwick and Tyrconnel, with the French general M. de Lausen, still remained to contend with William for the rights and privileges of Irishmen.

William, immediately on his arrival in Dublin, divided his army and pursued the Irish. Wexford declared for him. Clonmel was abandoned, and Waterford soon followed. Douglas, one of William's generals, advanced to Athlone with ten regiments of foot and five of horse; he laid waste the country through which he passed. After many

desperate efforts to take Athlone, which was bravely defended by an Irish officer of the name of Grace, this sanguinary Englishman was compelled to retire in disgrace. He joined the army of William in August, who was advancing to Limerick, the great seat of the Irish force.

According to the Duke of Berwick's memoirs, the city of Limerick had no fortification but a wall without ramparts, and some miserable little towers without ditches. A sort of covered way was made all round, and a kind of horn-work palisaded before the great gate, but the town was not attacked on that side. Twenty thousand Irish infantry, of whom, however, not more than half were armed, formed the garrison, while three thousand five hundred Irish cavalry, stationed at five miles distance, on the Connaught side of the Shannon, maintained a free communication with the town. The French troops retired to Galway on the appearance of the English. The skill and valour exhibited by Sarsfield and the Duke of Berwick, in the defence of this celebrated city, was worthy of all their former fame. Their example animated every bosom; even women forgot their sex, and flew to arms in defence of the liberties of their children. A successful breach being made in the walls by the besieging army, served but to increase the ardour of the besieged; they filled up the breach with their bodies, and thus exposed an impregnable rampart to the enemy. With what sensations must William, who had been ever opposed to oppression and intolerance, have viewed the glorious struggles which this brave

Irish army were making for the civil and religious freedom of their country? The English monarch was forced to raise the siege, and bow his head to the superior prowess and spirit of his enemy. It was inconsistent in the character of William to attribute his failure to any other cause than the invincible courage of his opponents ; he should not have told the English parliament that the heavy rains alone caused him to raise the siege of Limerick. The Duke of Berwick, an eye-witness, asserts, that not a drop of rain fell for above a month before, nor for three weeks after. It is not very wonderful that Limerick, this sacred theatre of Irish valour, on which the best blood of her children was shed, should now be viewed by Ireland with feelings of solemn veneration ; nor should it be matter of surprise, that the Irishman who is at this day obliged to recapitulate the wrongs of his country, should speak in the bold terms of remonstrance, when standing on the ground where his ancestors fought for that liberty he is only petitioning for. They are bad statesmen who would not highly estimate that honest pride that can trace its origin to so glorious a source ; and the spirit of Irishmen will never be vanquished, while they have eyes to contemplate the graves of those brave and honourable dead, who so signally struggled for their freedom. Soon after this unsuccessful effort on the part of William against the brave defenders of Limerick, he retired to Waterford, and from thence embarked for England.

The Irish war had now cost him much anxie-

ty; his finest troops were wasted, and his best generals opposed with unprecedented success. Schomberg found a rival in Sarsfield; and William felt that a nation fighting for its liberty, will sell that liberty at a dear rate to the conqueror. He therefore instructed his generals to strike to the terms of the Irish, whom he found he could not subdue, and to put, (by the most honourable, and of course the most satisfactory means,) a termination to a conflict in which he had already exhausted so much blood and treasure. William invested General Ginkle and Count Solmes with the command of his army, now quartered at Clonmel. In the mean time, Cork and Kinsale surrendered to the rapid and decisive movements of the Earl of Marlborough. This achievement was accomplished by the English general in the space of twenty-three days, and was, in England, a source of great national pride and exultation. Athlone also fell into the hands of the English army, who displayed in the attack the most undaunted heroism. St Ruth, who commanded the town, was a victim to his consciousness of security against any effort of the enemy. His situation was most formidable, and the obstacles to the English general apparently invincible. The capture of this place was one of the most brilliant achievements by William's army during the entire campaign. That the Irish had taught their enemies to respect and to dread the effects of their courage and the skill of their generals, is tolerably clear from a letter then written by the secretary of the lords justices, Lord Sydney

and Thomas Coningsby, to Ginkle, the English general: "I did very much hope, that after the taking of Athlone, some favourable declaration might have been sent forth to break the Irish army, and save the expence of a field battle; but I see our civil officers regard more adding fifty pounds a-year to the English interest in this kingdom, than saving England the expence of fifty thousand. I promise myself it is for the king's, the allies', and England's interest, to remit most or all of the forfeitures, so that we could immediately bring the kingdom under their majesties' obedience." Ginkle, who was a much better judge of his own situation, and a much better estimator of the strength and talents of the enemy with whom he had to contend, than the civil officers of the Irish government, who were then perhaps concealing themselves in their lurking places in Dublin, trembling even at the reports of the battles which the Irish were fighting, was so convinced of the immediate necessity of a proclamation of honourable terms to the Irish, that he published one on the 8th day of July 1691, which was in a few days confirmed by the deliberate wisdom of the Irish government. The proclamation held out seducing temptations to the Irish to put an end to the war. It offered all commanders full possession of their estates; it offered liberal rewards to those who had no landed property; and guaranteed to all a free exercise of their religion. Here was the best evidence of Irish valour; the honourable homage to the skill and spirit of their generals. "As we find," said Ginkle,

“that we cannot conquer the Irish by our arms, let us seduce them by their rights.” It was a noble and generous determination; but the policy, however profound, did not succeed, and the Irish army under St Ruth and Sarsfield remained firm and undivided.

Ginckle immediately concentrated his force, and marched from Athlone. On the 12th of July the English army advanced to the attack at Aughrim. One unfortunate blow decided the celebrated battle of Aughrim. A cannon ball struck St Ruth early in the action, and thus deranged those plans which that able man had so judiciously laid, and which promised to insure victory to his army. The Irish suffered so considerably, that we now find them taking their last refuge in Limerick. Though the battle of Aughrim was fatal to the Irish, yet the terms obtained soon after by Galway, are another proof of the deep impression which their valour made on the mind of the English general. He saw and admitted the folly of prolonging a contest which must cost his monarch so much blood. He therefore offered such terms to Galway, as, under all existing circumstances, must be admitted by every candid reader, to be a full recognition of the rights for which the Irish were contending. They were as follow—we shall give them as reported by Mr Leland.

“William was now anxious to be relieved from the oppressive burden of his Irish struggle; to prevent another year of bloodshed in a country already wasted by distress; to extricate the kingdom at

once, from difficulties grievous and dangerous. He resolved to grant such conditions to Galway, as might convince the whole Irish people, of the infatuation of their perseverance in a desperate cause, and dispose them to an immediate submission. The garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Limerick; with liberty to those who desired it, to continue in the town, or to repair to their respective habitations. A free pardon was granted to the governor, magistracy, freemen and inhabitants, with full possession of their estates and liberties, under the act of settlement and explanation. The Romish clergy and laity were allowed the private exercise of their religion, their lawyers to practise, and their estated gentlemen to bear arms. Nor were those favourable terms without their effect. Several considerable parties daily revolted from the Irish, and were either entertained in the army, on taking the oaths to the king and queen, or dismissed peaceably to their habitations."

To those who will assert that Ireland was conquered, after reading the concessions which were here made to her valour, do not stop to reflect on the cause which first prompted her to take up arms. It was not the cause of James, or Louis, or the Pope. It was their rights for which Irishmen struggled, and at length they successfully fought their way to their re-establishment. Sheath your sword (says the English general), and you shall have the price of all the blood that has been shed. Galway accepted his terms, and rescued her rights. Galway

reposed in that honour, which was basely violated, and which exhibits the power, that was guilty of the violation, more as a robber than a conqueror.

The Irish thus disputed every inch of their country, with the spirit of men deserving the rights which her opponents agreed to concede : and when we consider the conduct of that monarch, for whose restoration Ireland was willing to shed her best blood, we should suppose, that the general sentiment would rather be in favour of acknowledging the sovereignty of William, on the honourable conditions which we have seen granted to Galway. Limerick now remained the last, and most formidable depot of Irish intrepidity. Sarsfield, who determined to maintain the rights of his country while he had life, was the intrepid commander of this city. The English general now had the experience of his master's defeat when he attempted the capture of Limerick. He then witnessed the spirit of the Irish soldier and the skill of his commander. It was not surprising, therefore, that General Ginkle, an officer of the highest merit, should have had the good sense to pause and reflect on the wildness of that experiment which would demand from such an enemy an unconditional surrender of their city. He had granted to a place of less consideration the rights of freemen. Limerick had the example of Galway to animate her. We therefore find that Ginkle proposed similar terms to the people of Limerick, by which wise policy he put an end to a war that promised a long duration, when fed by the resources of foreign

powers, and supported by the unconquerable valour of the Irish. Mr Macpherson, in his History of England, says, that “ the particulars of the second siege of Limerick are neither important nor distinctly known. Six weeks were spent before the place without any decisive effect,—the garrison was well supplied with provisions,—they were provided with all means of defence,—the season had now far advanced,—the rains had set in,—the winter itself was near,—Ginle had received orders to finish the war upon any terms. The English general offered conditions which the Irish, had they even been victors, could scarcely refuse with prudence. These terms were the liberties for which they were fighting—the privileges which they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.—and of which intolerance would have stripped them.” Dr Curry thus mentions the surrender of Limerick to the English forces: “ On the 3d October, 1691, was surrendered to General Ginle, and the lords justices of Ireland, upon the articles of capitulation here following, freely and solemnly entered into, the city of Limerick, together with all other garrisons then held by the catholics of that kingdom, for King James. These articles were ratified and exemplified by their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, under the great seal of England, and in the year 1692, ratified by an act of the Irish parliament.” As many of the most frontless enemies of the liberty of the catholic have had the hardihood to assert, that the political, civil, and religious privileges of the Irish catholic were not

guaranteed and secured by the articles of Limerick, we shall, even in a compendium of Irish history, set forth at length, and without mutilation, those two articles by which the rights of Ireland were so unequivocally conditioned for. These articles were flagrantly violated by the English and the Irish parliament. A cowardly war of sophistry was waged by the devouring spirit of confiscation against the naked and unarmed people of Ireland. It is a great lesson of instruction to the Irish nation, and it is hoped will sufficiently demonstrate the necessity of everlastingly keeping up that firm imposing countenance, which says to a rival nation, "We are always ready to resent oppression. Act with honour and with justice, and we will make common cause with you against the world; but attempt to plunder us of our property, deprive us of our rights, or to throw us back into a state of barbarism, and we will no longer acknowledge our allegiance. The bond which cemented us is dissolved, and in proportion to the strength of the obligation by which you were bound to act fairly and correctly, in the same proportion do we feel indignant that you should be the active instrument of our degradation." This is the language of truth, and the only language which is ever heard by a government of intolerance. It touches the sensitive chord of selfishness, and makes the oppressor look in upon the prudence or the common sense of his oppression. The articles of Limerick were violated because the Irish nation was disarmed and divided, their spirit was broken, and the

English nation played the tyrant, because she knew she could trample on her victim with impunity. The great events of a century, however, have raised up Ireland from her humbled station ; and England now dare no longer think it wisdom to make experiments on the patience and the feelings of the Irish people. The latter look back with indignation on the base record of dishonour and injustice which the violated articles of Limerick exhibit ; they call to their recollection the glorious efforts of their ancestors ; and, in the stern accents of an abused and insulted creditor, demand from the English nation the faithful payment of that debt which their favourite monarch pledged his honour to discharge. The articles which secured the rights of Ireland, and for the obtaining of which, Sarsfield and the brave men who fought by his side agreed to sheath their swords, were as follows :

“ 1st, The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges, in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II. ; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics such farther security in this particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon account of their said religion.

“ 2d, All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish ; all officers and soldiers now in arms under any commission of King James, or those autho-

rised by him to grant the same, in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers, in their majestie's quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience, and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, which they and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of Charles II. or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of Charles II. and shall be put in possession by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein, and all such estates shall be freed of crown debts, quit rents, and other public charges incurred and become due since Michaelmas, 1688, to the day of the date hereof; and all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands or the hands of any persons whatsoever in trust for them, or for the use of them or any of them; and all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade or calling soever they be, shall or may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades and

callings, as freely as they used and exercised, and enjoyed the same in the reign of King Charles II. ; provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person, now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised ; provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance made by an act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required."

The ninth article conditions, that the oath to be administered to such Roman catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath of allegiance, and no other.

If any man is to be found, in the present day, armed with sufficient front to deny that the rights of Ireland were secured by the articles of Limerick, let the articles themselves be stated, and the assessor will not repeat the falsehood. He may say, with the mercenary enemies of Irish liberty, that King William had no power of performing the promise which he made, of keeping sacred his plighted faith ; that he should obey the will of the English parliament, and that this parliament resolved to dishonour their monarch, by forcing him to violate his faith with the Irish nation. As this has been once urged, or something that amounts to it, so may it be urged again ; but it is not in the power of the sophist to disprove the fact, that the Irish were a plundered and deceived nation ; that the powers which could not conquer did betray, and the heart

which could not bend to force, was at length obliged to surrender to fraud.* Harris, in his life of

* That the faith which was solemnly pledged to Ireland by William, was as solemnly violated, and that the infamous violation was aggravated by the insolent sophistry of confiscators, who struggled to bend the plain and intelligible language of a clear and intelligible treaty, to the mean and mercenary purposes of national plunder, is known to every man who has read the history of England, however indifferent he may be to the fate and fortunes of Irishmen. Mr Burke, who is an authority before whom the enemies, as well as the friends of Ireland are accustomed to bow with equal veneration, has left to the people of the British empire, and to the world, his opinion of this miserable feature in the life of William, that monarch of immortal memory, in the opinion of every trading Irishman, speculating on the degradation of his country.

Among the many valuable legacies which that great and extraordinary man, Edmund Burke, has bequeathed to his countrymen, there is none perhaps so pregnant with solid and substantial advantage as his "Tracts on the Penal Laws," published after his decease. They are decisive against all the frothy declamation with which monopoly has ever insulted our understanding and spirit, and ably vindicate that proud tone of remonstrance by which every Irishman, who speaks on the subject of Irish rights, should be distinguished. Its solid and substantial excellence will excuse its length; its eloquence will delight, while its masterly reasoning will instruct and convince the reader. Speaking of the various plans of oppression and systems of torture practised by England against Ireland, he is carried to the articles of Limerick, which closed the Irish war of 1691.

"When," writes Mr Burke, "by every expedient of force and policy, by a war of some centuries, by extirpating a number of the old, and by bringing in a number of new people, full of those opinions, and intending to propagate them, they had fully compassed their object, they suddenly took another turn, commenced an opposite persecution, made heavy laws, carried on mighty wars, inflicted and suffered the worst evils, extirpated the mass of the old, brought in new inhabitants; and they con-

William, writes, that his majesty was so sensible of the necessity of collecting and uniting his whole

tinue at this day, an oppressive system, and may, for four hundred years to come, to eradicate opinions which, by the same violent means, they had been for four hundred years endeavouring by every means to establish. They compelled the people to submit, by the forfeiture of all their civil rights, to the pope's authority, in its most extravagant and unbounded sense, as a giver of kingdoms: and now they refuse even to tolerate them in the most moderate and chastised sentiments concerning it. *No country, I believe, since the world began, has suffered so much on account of religion, or has been so variously harassed both for popery and protestantism.*

"It will now be seen, that even if these laws could be supposed agreeable to those of nature in those particulars, on another, and almost as strong a principle, they are yet unjust; as being contrary to positive compact, and the public faith, most solemnly plighted.

"On the surrender of Limerick, and some other Irish garrisons, in the war of the revolution, the lords justices of Ireland, and the commander in chief of the king's forces, signed a capitulation with the Irish, which was afterwards ratified by the king himself, by *inspeximus* under the great seal of England. It contains some public articles relative to the whole body of the Roman catholics in that kingdom, and some with regard to the security of the greater part of the inhabitants of five counties. What the latter were, or in what manner they were observed, is at this day of much less public concern. The former are two, the first and ninth. The first is of this tenor: 'The Roman catholics of this kingdom (Ireland) shall enjoy such privileges, in the exercise of religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics still further security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of religion.' The ninth article is to this effect. 'The oath to be administered to such Roman catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall

force against the formidable power of France, that in order to put a speedy period to the Irish war, he

be the oath aforesaid, and no other, viz. the oath of allegiance made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of their then majesties, as required by the second of the articles of Limerick.' Compare this latter article with the penal laws, and judge whether they seem to be the public acts of the same power, and observe whether *other* oaths are tendered to them, and under what penalties. Compare the former with the same laws, from the beginning to the end, and judge whether the Roman catholics have been preserved agreeably to the sense of the article, or rather whether, on that account, there is a single right of nature, or benefit of society, which has not been either totally taken away or considerably impaired.

“ But it is said that the legislature was not bound by this article, as it had never been ratified in parliament. I do admit, that it never had that sanction; and that the parliament was under no obligation to ratify those articles by any express act of theirs. But still I am at a loss how they came to be the less valid in the principles of our constitution, by being without that sanction. They certainly bound the king and his successors; the words of the article do this, or they do nothing; and so far as the crown had a share in passing these acts, the public faith was unquestionably broken. In Ireland, such a breach on the part of the crown was much more unpardonable in administration than it would have been here. They have, in Ireland, a way of preventing any bill even from approaching the royal presence in matters of far less importance than the honour and the faith of the crown, and the well-being of a great body of the people. For, besides that they might have opposed the first suggestion of it in the house of commons, it could not be framed into a bill, without the approbation of the council in Ireland. It could not be returned to them again, without the approbation of the king and council here. They might have met it again in its second passage through that house of parliament in which it was originally suggested, as well as in the other. If it had escaped them through all these mazes, it was again to come before the lord lieutenant, who might have sunk it by a refusal of the royal

had sent instructions to the lords justices to issue a proclamation, assuring the Irish of much more fa-

assent. The constitution of Ireland interposed all those checks to the passing of any constitutional act, however insignificant in its own nature. But did the administration in that reign avail themselves of any one of those opportunities? They never gave the act of the 11th of Queen Anne the least degree of opposition in any one stage of its progress. What is rather the fact, many of the queen's servants encouraged it, recommended it, were in reality the true authors of its passing in parliament, instead of recommending and using their utmost endeavour to establish a law directly opposite in its tendency, as they were bound to do by the express letter of the very first article of the treaty of Limerick. To say nothing of the ministry, who, in this instance, shamefully betrayed the faith of government, may it not be a matter of some degree of doubt, whether the parliament, who do not claim a right of dissolving the force of moral obligation, did not make themselves a party in this breach of contract, by presenting a bill to the crown in direct violation of those articles so solemnly and so recently executed, which, by the constitution, they had full authority to execute?

“ It may be further objected, that when the Irish requested the ratification of parliament to those articles, they did, in effect, themselves, entertain a doubt concerning their validity, without such a ratification. To this I answer, that the collateral security was meant to bind the crown, and to hold it firm to its engagements. They did not therefore call it a perfecting of the security, but an additional security, which it could not have been, if the first had been void; for the parliament could not bind itself, more than the crown had bound itself. And if all had made but one security, neither of them could be called additional, with propriety or common sense. But let us suppose that they did apprehend there might have been something wanting in this security, without the sanction of parliament. They were, however, evidently mistaken; and this surplusage of theirs did not weaken the validity of the single contract, upon the known principle of law, *Non solent, quæ abundant, vitare scripturas*; for nothing is more evident than that the crown was bound, and that no act

avourable conditions than they afterwards obtained by the articles of Limerick. The justices formed

can be made without the royal assent. But the constitution will warrant us in going a great deal further, and in affirming, that a treaty executed by the crown, and contradictory of no preceding law, is fully as binding on the whole body of the nation, as if it had twenty times received the sanction of parliament; because, the very same constitution, which has given to the house of parliament their definite authority, has also left in the crown the trust of making peace, as a consequence, and much the best consequence, of the prerogative of making war. If the peace was ill made, my Lords Galway, Conningsby and Porter, who signed, were responsible, because they were subject to the community. But its own contracts are not subject to it; it is a subject to them; and the compact of the king, acting constitutionally, was the compact of the nation.

“ Observe what monstrous consequences would result from a contrary position. A foreign enemy has entered, or a strong domestic one has arisen in the nation. In such events, the circumstances may be, and often have been such, that a parliament cannot sit. *This was precisely the case in that rebellion in Ireland.* It will be admitted also, that their power may be so great, as to make it very prudent to treat with them, in order to save the effusion of blood, perhaps to save the nation. How could such a treaty be at all made, if your enemies or rebels were fully persuaded, that, in those times of confusion, there was no authority in the state, which could hold out to them an inviolate pledge for their future security, but that there lurked in the constitution, a dormant but irresistible power, who would not think itself bound by the ordinary subsisting and contracting authority, but might rescind its acts and obligations at pleasure? This would be a doctrine made to perpetuate and exasperate war; and on that principle, it directly impugns the law of nations, which is built upon this principle, that war should be softened as much as possible, and that it should cease as soon as possible, between contending parties and communities. The king has a power to pardon individuals. If the king holds out his faith to

those instructions into a proclamation, afterwards styled the secret proclamation, because, though

a robber to come in, on a promise of a pardon of life and estate, and in all respects of a full indemnity, shall the parliament say, that he must nevertheless be executed, that his estate must be forfeited, or that he shall be abridged of any of the privileges which he before held as a subject? Nobody will affirm it. In such a case, the breach of faith would not only be on the part of the king, who assented to such an act, but on the part of the parliament who made it. As the king represents the whole contracting capacity of the nation, so far as his prerogative, unlimited, (as I said before), by any precedent law can extend, he acts as the national procurator on all such occasions. What is true of a robber, is true of a rebel; and what is true of one robber or rebel, is as true, and is a much more important truth, of one hundred thousand.

“ To urge this part of the argument further, is indeed, I fear, not necessary, for two reasons. First, that it seems tolerably evident in itself; and next, that there is but too much ground to apprehend, that the actual ratification of parliament would, in the then temper of parties, have proved but a very slight and trivial security. Of this, there is a very strong example in the history of those very articles. For though the parliament omitted, in the reign of King William, to ratify the first and most general of them; they did actually confirm the second and more limited, that which related to the security of the inhabitants of those five counties, which were in arms when the treaty was made.”

It has been so often urged by the enemies of the people of Ireland, that the privileges which they are now claiming, are more a question of expediency than of right, that we felt it our duty to put the reasons on which the rights of our country are grounded, in the strongest and most unanswerable manner that the great powers of Burke could exhibit them. That this task has been performed with his usual strength, will not be denied by any attentive reader. That the sophist who has the audacity to defend the outrageous violation of the articles of Limerick, should yield to the reasoning of Burke, will now be admitted by the most ardent supporters of monopoly. The people of Ireland,

printed, it was never published ; for their lordships, finding Limerick reduced to the condition of capitulating, smothered the proclamation, and hastened to the camp, that they might hold the Irish to as hard terms as the king's affairs would permit—this they effected, and although (says Mr Harris) they deserved the thanks of every protestant in Ireland, yet a party soon sprung up that inveighed loudly against these articles. The designing men of this party quarrelled with them only because their expectations were disappointed of raising large fortunes out of the forfeitures. Those designing men to whom Mr Harris, the biographer of William, alludes, are exactly similar to the orangemen of our day, who will not be satisfied with less than a monopoly of the constitution, and all the advantages which those who are brought under its shelter must necessarily enjoy. But the wisdom of the conduct adopted by the English general, and to which the English monarch gave his most hearty assent, is best shewn by a statement of the events which occurred soon after those articles we have recited were signed by all the parties. Macpherson, in his history of England, thus writes :—

when restored to the full and unconditional possession of the constitution, shall only be recovering the rights of which they were basely plundered ; which they purchased by their blood, and for the enjoyment of which, they at length agreed to lay down their arms. The unconditional repeal of the penal laws against the catholics, would be no more than the faithful fulfilment of that contract, which King William, of "immortal memory," most basely violated.

“ The Irish having obtained such good terms with such facility, imbibed an opinion that they might have extorted conditions still more favourable from an enemy so exhausted. The arrival of the French fleet, two days after the capitulation, with arms, stores, provisions, and ammunition, confirmed them in their sentiments on this subject. But that circumstance, in conjunction with many other obvious reasons, justified William for putting an end to the war. Many millions had already been expended in the reduction of Ireland. The army, though victorious in the field, were exhausted with fatigue—winter was approaching—the siege of Limerick must in all probability have been raised; a second disappointment before that place would have been equal to defeat. The spirits of the Irish would rise, and the French, encouraged by their success, would have aided their allies with effect.”

Notwithstanding the solemnity with which the articles of Limerick were signed, and notwithstanding the miserable alternative which it is obvious William had to make choice of, (either the granting to the Irish the rights for which they had so bravely fought, or if, refusing these, the miserable prolongation of a contest in which William might have lost this valuable portion of his empire,) in the face of such considerations, the minister of the gospel, the bishop of Meath, felt it his duty to recommend, with christian and evangelic mildness, the immediate violation of the articles which had been granted to the barbarous Irish. This pious divine, this herald of peace to mankind, was not

attended to *at present*. Policy, if not justice, ordered him to be silent ; and with pleasure we record, that his infamous doctrines were opposed, in the true spirit of a christian minister, by Dr Morton, the bishop of Kildare.

When the fears of monopoly subsided, when the Irish catholic was disarmed, the English adventurer and the Irish task-master commenced their *sacred* work of plunder. All the obligations of truth, justice, honour, and humanity vanished, and no sound was heard but the yells of intolerance and the cries of brave and suffering innocence. No wonder that the Irish heart should swell with indignation when going over those dismal scenes of cowardly oppression and rapacious profligacy. No wonder that a long period of mild and parental government should be required to obliterate from the memory of Irishmen, the record of such odious and vulgar treachery. The Roman conqueror left to the countries he conquered, their laws, their religion, and their rights. He did not break faith with the vanquished, and thus proclaim war against humanity. His policy was as generous as wise ; it facilitated the march of his armies, and taught mankind to believe, that the Roman conquests were not incompatible either with their security or their happiness. The great champions of English freedom, will hereafter be found the busy forgers of Ireland's chains ; the panders to the religious as well as national prejudices of their countrymen ; the encouragers of the worst species of tyranny, the tyranny of a few over the many, and the injudicious and short-sighted ex-

tinguishers of the genius and industry of our country.

The great Englishmen who contributed to the completion of that proud edifice of human liberty, of which England can now boast, were the most remorseless tyrants in Ireland. Their ingenuity was directed to prolong the tortures of their victim, and to demonstrate to the world, how inferior the pagan tyrants of antiquity were to the modern tyrants of our christian age. The reader will commence the following reigns with a heavy and afflicted heart, because he has to witness each day exceeding the other in the magnitude of human depravity, and the men, whom the English historian holds up to his admiration, the active and fanatical instruments of unexampled oppression and misery. He will see how much more cruel is the avarice of monopoly than the sword of the conqueror. He will see the confiscator of his country, shrouded in the garb of religion, seeking whom he may devour, his rapacity increasing with his impunity, and his oppressions multiplying with the weakness of his victim. He will see the miserable people thus abused, insulted with the praises of the free constitution under which they were living; and, while their wounds were still fresh from the lash of intolerance, it will be no uncommon spectacle to behold their executioners crying out for new tortures and new penalties. What enlightened reader, who has read the history of Ireland from the reformation, who has followed her sufferings through the sanguinary period of Elizabeth, James, and Crom-

well, who has observed the dreadful revolutions of her property and devastation of the inhabitants, will hesitate to say, that it was the duty of Irishmen to stand by James II. with the same zeal with which Englishmen opposed him? He was the friend of their religious and civil liberty. England was his enemy, because he tolerated the religion of Ireland. It was not for Ireland to consider his motives or his ultimate objects; they might have been despotic, he might have sought the extinction of British freedom through the medium of Irish liberty; yet, still it was the obvious line of Ireland's duty to act as she did; to defend her rights and her religion against a nation which so long laboured to destroy both. The bravery with which they fought the battle, should be the best recommendation of the people of Ireland, to an enlightened monarch of the British empire; it demonstrates the advantage of that policy which gives to a nation such a cause as is worth their defending. The strength of those deductions from the facts we have been recording, do not require support from any opinion, however eminent or distinguished. They are self-evident truths, which flash on every honest unsophisticated understanding; yet, it will not be considered any breach of historical correctness, to introduce here, the sentiments of perhaps the most illustrious and able senator that ever adorned the British senate, whose philosophic eloquence has left to succeeding times the most profound and enlightened political lessons of instruction. Our great countryman, Edmund Burke, in a letter to

his son, in the year 1793, thus gives his opinion of the conduct of the Irish catholic during the reign of James II. :—

“ Let us come to a later period of those confiscations, with the memory of which the gentlemen who triumph in the acts of 1782 are so much delighted. The Irish again rebelled against the English Parliament in 1688, and the English Parliament again put up to sale the greatest part of their estates. I do not presume to defend the Irish for this rebellion, nor to blame the English Parliament for this confiscation. The Irish, it is true, did not revolt from King James’s power. He threw himself upon their fidelity, and they supported him to the best of their power. Be the crime of that obstinate adherence to an abdicated sovereign against a prince whom the parliaments of Ireland and Scotland had encouraged, what it may ; I do not mean to justify this rebellion more than the former ; it might, however, admit some palliation in them. In generous minds some small degree of compassion might be excited for an error, where they were misled, as Cicero says to a conqueror, “ *quadam specie et similitudine pacis*,”—not without a mistaken appearance of duty, and for which the guilty have suffered by exile abroad and slavery at home, to the extent of their folly or their offence. The best calculators compute that Ireland lost 200,000 of her inhabitants in that struggle. If the principle of the English and Scotch resistance, at the revolution, is to be justified (as sure I am it is) the submission of Ireland must be somewhat extenuated. For if the

Irish resisted King William, they resisted him on the very same principle that the English and Scotch resisted King James. The Irish catholics must have been the very worst and the most truly unnatural of rebels, if they had not supported a prince whom they had seen attacked, not for any designs against their religion or their liberties, but for an extreme partiality for their sect ; and who, far from trespassing on their liberties and properties, secured both them and the independence of their country, in much the same manner that we have seen the same things done at the period of 1782."

Here is the commentary of one of the greatest statesmen who appeared in the eighteenth century, on that part of our history which is held up by the ignorant and the mercenary, as the greatest stain in our national character ; which is denominated an act of rebellion, rather than an honourable exertion of men struggling for their freedom and their religion. The great calumniators of the Irish catholic have sunk into the tomb, and the few who remain are no longer attended to. Truth is at length gaining the ascendant. The catholic of the present day may now confidently trace his freedom to the recollection of that courage which in 1691 so bravely defended it.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

A. D. 1691. **T**HE surrender of Limerick, on the condition of Irish freedom, closed the struggle between this country and England. The right of William to the Irish throne was acknowledged and submitted to, and the establishment of the civil and religious liberties of Irishmen was expected to have succeeded to the intolerance of fanaticism and the rapacity of monopoly. The battle was bravely fought by the Irish people; and from the character which their illustrious opponent enjoyed in his own country, they most reasonably hoped that they might repose with confidence on the faithful fulfilment of any treaty to which the necessities of the English monarch might have compelled him to accede. Ireland therefore sheathed her sword, in the ingenuous confidence of having an honourable enemy to treat with. How those expectations were fulfilled—how that confidence was preserved—how

the honour of the English nation has been maintained in her solemn treaties with Ireland, let it be the office of history to record. It has hitherto been our duty to relate the struggles of an armed, though abused nation, with the jealousy, the bigotry and the rapacity of England. The reader has waded through scenes of slaughter and desolation. He has followed the Irishman in his various efforts to defend the religion and liberties of his country. During this sad melancholy progress, he was sometimes relieved by the spectacle of successful retaliation or unprovoked aggression, and he has been often consoled by the temporary exhibition of a courage which would add lustre to the proudest achievements of ancient or modern days. Until the period to which we have now arrived, we had never to contemplate the cowardly exercise of a tyranny which trampled on the man it deceived; which tortured the victim it disarmed; which pledged its faith in order to betray; and with all the contemptible malice of a voracious jealousy, was perpetually plundering the courage which it feared.

That revolution which was the fruitful parent of so many blessings to England, was the copious source of Ireland's bitterest sufferings; the great event which completed the establishment of British freedom, confirmed the slavery of Ireland.* The links

* The excellent Dr Curry commences his history of the Irish persecutions, from the revolution, in the following feeling and pathetic strain.

“ After a tedious and melancholy narrative of the state of the Irish catholics at different periods, for the space of more than

of that chain which were struck from the English nation were more than doubled on the mind and the arm of Ireland. The accumulated vengeance of the last two hundred years, was poured on the devoted head of our country by the monarch of "immortal memory." Even the miserable instruments of English despotism were chained to the oar; they should strike at the will of their masters, and truckle to their passions, if they hoped to preserve their confidence. The little miserable monopolists whom the reader will see exhibiting from time to time on the political stage of Ireland, were little more than the well paid executioners of their fellow citizens; their duty was to wield the lash and torture the victim; their employment was the degradation and impoverishment of their country; their wages, the government of that country which their folly or their treason, or their avarice had wasted. Every revolution experienced by Ireland, from the invasion, but left a new in-

one hundred and fifty years, I should have no occasion to relate the following, had their sufferings ended at the surrender of Limerick. Then, indeed, they might subscribe with others in proclaiming the change a glorious revolution. But the conditions they had by that surrender obtained, (I may say sealed with their blood), though agreed upon and signed by both parties, in the most solemn manner, and afterwards ratified and approved by both their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, under the great seal of England, were soon after basely infringed, contrary to the law of nature, the law of nations, and the public faith. The infringement of those articles on the part of government, commenced very early after they were signed; and it was afterwards repeated from time to time, in such a manner, as to prepare the minds of the people to receive with less surprise, the total violation of them, by acts 'to prevent the further growth of popery,' which were then in contemplation."

gradient of bitterness in the cup of misfortune. Every change was from bad to worse ; so that the Irish patriot who sympathised with her fortunes, might have lamented that the sword of annihilation had left a subject on which her future tyrants could indulge their malice. A celebrated writer on the English constitution, speaking of the various revolutions which took place in England, has the following observations :—

“ If we peruse the history of England,” says De Lolme, “ we shall be peculiarly struck with one circumstance to be observed in it, and which distinguishes most advantageously the English government from all other free governments—I mean the manner in which revolutions and public commotions have always been terminated in England. If we read with some attention the history of other free states, we shall see the public dissensions that have taken place in them, have constantly been terminated by settlements, in which the interests only of a few were really provided for, while the grievances of the many were hardly, if ever, attended to. In England the very reverse has happened, and we find revolutions always to have been terminated by extensive and accurate provisions for securing the general liberty.”

In Ireland we have hitherto found that revolutions terminated in the forging of new chains and the multiplication of new tortures. The liberty of England and the slavery of Ireland have invariably proceeded together ; Ireland going down as England ascended. Posterity have justly concluded that the rights of

Irishmen and the prosperity of England cannot exist together—a melancholy truth, which the events of the present day only contribute to confirm, and which is still left to the enlightened English government of future days to refute. The lights of history cannot be extinguished, nor her powerful voice silenced. The conclusions we have drawn are irresistible, and the idle violence which attempts to punish their publication only impresses those truths more deeply on the mind. The glories of William and of Anne—the victories of Marlborough, and the universal conquests of Chatham, have been the most disastrous epochs of Ireland. Never was the heart of our country so low as when England was the envy and the terror of her enemies. The sounds of English triumphs were to her the sounds of sorrow—the little tyrants who ruled her were inflamed with courage, and urged on with increased rancour—the unhappy catholics of Ireland, who always constituted the nation, were doomed to be again insulted and tortured with impunity—and the protestant parliaments of our country, as if their existence depended on their servility, will be seen sacrificing even their own properties, as well as those of their catholic countrymen, to the insatiable monopoly of England—yet all those scenes were the offspring of that revolution in which Englishmen most justly triumph—a revolution which, De Lolme says, terminated by a series of public acts in which no interests but those of the people at large were considered and provided for. The series of public acts which the same revolution produced in Ireland,

were directed to sacrifice the peace, happiness and security of Irishmen to the establishment of a contemptible monopoly, which rendered them for seventy years the degraded slaves of a system that beggared and insulted them. The enlightened protestant of the present day, looks back with horror on that profligate folly which gratified the malignity of a foreign country, in the enactment of a system of legislation which puts into the shade the more humane, because less lingering despotism of the inquisition. He shudders at the recollection of that infatuated spirit of ascendancy which chained the hand of industry, barbarized the infant mind, broke up all the social feelings, bribed the child to betray his parent, and the perjured apostate to plunder the innocent and conscientious. The protestants of the present day hasten with one voice to cancel the odious record and to bury it in eternal oblivion. The English revolution of 1688, for the anniversary of which the bells of ascendancy ring the annual peal, was the consummation of Irish suffering—it should be therefore looked on by the honest Irishman, as a theory from which he might derive gratification in the contemplation, but as a practical curse, with which his unfortunate country was visited at the very moment she ought to have shared in its blessings. The protestant of the present day thus reasons ; he adopts the language and the opinions of that great man, whose towering genius first contributed to dissipate the fog of religious prejudice, and expose the miseries which it concealed. Cheerfully does he bow to the reason-

ing of the great Edmund Burke, when he thus describes the constitution of 1688, as practised in Ireland by the parliamentary task-masters.

“ I cannot,” says our great countryman, in his letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, “ possibly confound in my mind all the things that were done at the revolution, with the principles of the revolution ; as in most great changes, many things were done from the necessities of the time, well or ill understood, from passion or from vengeance, which were not only not perfectly agreeable to its principles, but in the most direct contradiction to them. I shall not think that the deprivation of some millions of all the rights of citizens, and all the interest in the constitution, in and to which they were born, was a thing conformable to the declared principles of the revolution. This I am sure is true, relatively to England (where the operation of these anti-principles comparatively were of little extent) ; and some of our late laws, in repealing acts made immediately after the revolution, admit that some things then done were not done in the true spirit of the revolution. But the revolution operated differently in England and Ireland, in many, and these essential particulars. Supposing the principles to be altogether the same in both kingdoms, by the application of these principles to very different objects, the whole spirit of the system was changed, not to say reversed. In England it was the struggle of the great body of the people for the establishment of their liberties against the efforts of a very small faction, who would have

oppressed them. In Ireland it was the establishment of the power of the smaller number, at the expence of the civil liberties and properties of the whole. It was, to say the truth, not a revolution, but a conquest; which is not to say a great deal in its favour.

“ To insist upon every thing done in Ireland at the revolution, would be to insist on the severe and jealous policy of a conqueror in the crude settlement of his new acquisition, as a permanent rule for its future government. This, no power, in any country that I have ever heard of, has done or professed, except in Ireland, where it is done, and possibly by some people will be professed. Time has, by degrees, in all other places and periods, blended the conquered and the conquerors. So, after some time, and after one of the most rigid conquests that we read of in history, the Normans softened into the English.” Mr Burke then proceeds to trace to their true and proper source, the causes of that infamous code of laws which was enacted during the reigns upon which we are now entering. To do justice to Mr Burke, the entire of his admirable letter should be copied into this compendium; but the limits of our work forbid so large a quotation. The following observations, however, are so good an introduction to the reign of that sovereign who first commenced the statute war against the catholics of Ireland, that we shall make no apology for requesting the reader's attention to their truth as well as to their philosophy.

“ For a much longer period than that,” says Mr

Burke, " which had sufficed to blend the Romans with the nation to which, of all others, they were most adverse, the protestants settled in Ireland, considered themselves in no other light than that of a sort of colonial garrison to keep the natives in subjugation to the other state of Great Britain.— The whole spirit of the revolution in Ireland was that of not the mildest conqueror. In truth, the spirit of those proceedings did not commence at that æra, nor was religion of any kind their primary object. What was done, was not in the spirit of a contest between two religious factions, but between two adverse nations. The statutes of Kilkenny show that the spirit of the popery laws, and some even of their actual provisions, as applied between Englishry and Irishry, had existed in that harassed country before the words protestant and papist were heard of in the world. If we read Baron Finglass, Spencer, and Sir John Davis, we cannot miss the true genius and policy of the English government there, before the revolution, as well as during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth. Sir John Davis boasts of the benefits received by the natives, by extending to them the English law, and turning the whole kingdom into shire ground. But the appearance of things alone was changed. The original scheme was never deviated from a single hour. Unheard-of confiscations were made in the northern parts, upon grounds of plots and conspiracies never proved upon their supposed authors. The war of chicane succeeded to the war of arms, and a regular series of operations were

carried on, particularly from Chichester's time, in the ordinary courts of justice, and by special commissions and inquisitions, first under pretence of tenures, and then of titles in the crown, for the purpose of the total extirpation of the interest of the natives in their own soil, until this species of subtle ravage being carried to the last excess of oppression and insolence under Lord Strafford, it kindled the flames of that rebellion which broke out in 1641. By the issue of that war—by the turn which Clarendon gave to things at the restoration, and by the total reduction of the kingdom of Ireland in 1691, the ruin of the native Irish, and in a great measure, too, of the first races of the English, was completely accomplished. The new English interest was settled with as solid a stability as any thing in human affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression which were made after the last event, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effect of their fears, but of their security. They who carried on this system, looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for support in their acts of power. They were quite certain that no complaint of the natives would be heard on this side of the water, with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries served only to augment their torture. Machines which could answer their purpose so well, must be of an excellent contrivance. Indeed in England

the double name of the complainants, Irish and papists (it would be hard to say, singly, which was the most odious), shut up the hearts of every one against them. Whilst that temper prevailed; and it prevailed in all its force to a time within our memory, every measure was pleasing and popular, just in proportion as it tended to harass and ruin a set of people who were looked upon as enemies to God and man, and indeed as a race of bigoted savages, who were a disgrace to human nature itself."

Every transaction during the succeeding reigns; confirms the truth and justice of Mr Burke's opinion, that the sufferings of Ireland proceeded as much, if not more, from national than religious animosity. We shall hereafter see the miserable parliament of the pale, or the colonial garrison, as Mr Burke more appositely calls it, obliged to crouch to the orders and the wishes of their jealous mercantile rivals. The servitude of those parliaments to their English masters was compensated for, by allowing the former to wreak their merciless vengeance on their unoffending catholic countrymen. They were the destructive medium which collected the rays of that sun that burned up the industry and genius of our country.

The disposition on the part of England to abuse the authority which she now saw no great probability of being controuled or resisted, soon displays itself in the fury of its resolutions against the property and the liberties of the Irish catholic. They boldly remonstrate with their sovereign on the too great indulgence the Irish catholics experienced in

that treaty which put an end to the Irish war. With all the cowardly vengeance of fanaticism they call upon him to violate the royal honour which had been pledged to Ireland—to minister to their passions for confiscation and plunder, and leave the unoffending and disarmed people of Ireland to the savage mercy of an English tribunal. * The king replied to the English commons, in such a tone and

* Mr Matthew O'Connor, a respected member of the Catholic Board, and relative of the illustrious Charles O'Connor of Ballinagar, to whom Ireland owes so much of her present consequence and happiness, has lately given to his countrymen a very valuable view of the state of Irish catholics from the settlement in 1691. Speaking of the principles and conduct of king William, Mr O'Connor has the following observations:—

“ The admirers of that prince will find in his lenient administration a subject of panegyric. To whatever cause it was owing, whether to innate humanity, or to the wise policy of conciliating his subjects of every persuasion, or to his fears, from perpetual discomfiture in his continental wars, certain it is, that for the first four years of his reign in Ireland, he proved a mild and beneficent sovereign. He extended the protection of the law to all classes of his subjects, without distinction of sects, and screened the catholics from the insolence, rapacity, and tyranny of the party that had been triumphant.” And in another place Mr O'Connor says, “ in matters of religion King William was liberal, enlightened, and philosophic. Equally a friend to religious as to civil liberty, he granted toleration to dissenters of all descriptions, regardless of their speculative opinions. In the early part of his reign, the Irish catholics enjoyed the full and free exercise of their religion. They were protected in their persons and properties; their industry was encouraged; and under his mild and fostering administration, the desolation of the late war began to disappear, and prosperity, peace, and confidence to smile once more on the country.” It may be asked here, are those the qualities for which the memory of King William is styled by the orangeman “ the immortal memory?”

language as strongly manifested the royal indignation at the unprincipled tendency of their address, and in this instance displayed that character for toleration and humanity which distinguished him on the continent. In truth, we are not to expect that this monarch, however liberal or enlightened, could long resist the perpetual pressure of that prejudice which characterized the English. He held his crown by the consent of that very people who called upon him to act with injustice and dishonour by Ireland. We must therefore acknowledge that his natural disposition had but little opportunity of displaying itself; and that however ruinous the laws, which were passed during the reign of William, were to the liberties of Ireland, we should, in candour, rather attribute their enactment to the ascendancy of English councils, than the wish of the English sovereign to violate those principles, the practice of which had made him so dear to his native country. The English parliament did not stop here; they lost no time in asserting their superior authority over Ireland, by a legislative exclusion of the catholic from a seat in either houses of the Irish parliament; a sufficient evidence of the contempt with which they viewed any possible resistance which Ireland might make to recover her liberties. Nor did the Irish protestant parliament experience much indulgence from the proud usurping parliament of England. It was not so much the exclusion of the catholic as the extinction of an Irish parliament, which the whigs of England aspired to; and, therefore, with a most contemptuous in-

difference, the English sovereign continued to regulate and control the civil, military, and ecclesiastical departments of Ireland, as if no Irish parliament had been in existence.—So truly ridiculous is the struggle of a faction with the strength of a nation. The catholics were excluded and disarmed; they were hated and suspected; the result was, that the ascendant religion of protestantism exhibited all the impatience of intolerance, and all the insignificance of an insulted and feeble sect. The Irish protestant of that day, conceived that his power was advanced by the slavery of the catholic; that England would suffer him to play the tyrant if he would submit to be her slave; but the degradation which he sought against his catholic countrymen, was in the very outset of his foolish triumphs, his most bitter punishment. “It was,” as Mr Grattan somewhere beautifully observes, “liberty without energy or power. It presented the protestant with a monopoly, with the image of a monster, in a state when the heart gives no circulation, and the limbs no life—a nominal representative and a nominal people. Call not this your misfortune, it is your sentence, it is your execution. Never could the law of nature suffer one sect of men to take away the liberty of another, and that of a numerous part of their people, without feeling a diminution of their own strength and freedom.” The Irish protestant parliament of 1692, who so piously triumphed in the disfranchisement of their catholic countrymen, were in their turn trampled on by the feet of an English parliament.

The Irish protestants most wisely threw down the pillar on which they could have leaned, and were soon seen creeping through the ruins of that temple which their foolish policy contributed to destroy. The unfortunate catholics were no longer regarded by the government of Ireland, but as subjects on which prejudice and avarice might exercise their ingenious malice. The orangemen of this period, estimated their loyalty or their sycophancy by the bitterness of their hostility to the civil and religious liberty of their catholic countrymen. Their ambition was to rule in a land of slavery, and the little efforts which they sometimes made to rise from the degraded character of mere slave drivers, only exhibit their impotence and imbecility. Lord Sydney, Sir Charles Porter, and Thomas Coningsby, were first lords justices of Ireland in the reign we are now recording. Sydney was created lord lieutenant, and proceeded, in 1692, to convene the first parliament which, with the exception of King James's parliament, sat in Ireland for twenty-six years.

This parliament had the courage, after excluding the strength of the country, to aspire to the character of an independent legislature. They disputed the right of the English parliament to legislate for Ireland; they rejected a money bill because it did not originate with the Irish parliament, and put on record their strong reprobation of the smallest infringement on the ancient rights of the Irish legislature. The lord lieutenant was not to be intimidated by words; he was well aware that a le-

gislature of monopolists should not be reading lectures on parliamentary independence, and his answer to their high sounding assertion of "rights," was a good lesson of instruction to point out the importance of that principle which excluded the spirit as well as the strength of the nation. When the Irish parliament was a mixed assembly, protestant and catholic, the lord lieutenant might practise his power and his artifice, divide and distract, but he never presumed to utter the language of Lord Sydney, who told this protestant parliament of the pale, "that they ought to go to England to beg their majesties' pardon for their seditious and riotous assemblies." Lord Strafford, in the period of his greatest power, dared not use such language to the parliament of his day; because the people were interested in the support of its character, and would not, as in the instance before us, take pleasure in being the witness of its degradation.

The proceedings of Lord Sydney offended some of the leading men among the protestants, and every effort was made to procure his removal. A promise of more submissive conduct (if we are to judge by the future proceedings of the Irish parliament), succeeded in procuring the removal of Sydney; and his Lordship's successor, Lord Capel, was appointed in 1695, as being the best qualified to execute the wishes of his master in the English cabinet. The Irish parliament seemed now to be of opinion, that the price of the few humble privileges which they might be allowed by England to

enjoy, would be the multiplication of several penal statutes against their catholic brethren, and that the best proofs they could give of the sincerity of their loyalty, was the unpitying fury with which they pursued their unoffending countrymen. They therefore began, with a pious and loyal ardour, the glorious work of that penal code which now strikes mankind with horror; which would justify any resistance, however violent—any vengeance, however dreadful. This penal code, for the repeal of which Ireland has had the unexampled patience to petition, would have armed every hand in England. Englishmen would have again appealed to the spirits of their iron barons. Their Russells, their Hampdens, and their Sydneys would have rallied whatever of honour or patriotism was in the land; and the blood of the persecutors, who could have enacted such laws, should have washed out the odious record, and thus have atoned for their crimes against justice and humanity; yet Ireland has carried her chains year after year,—she has manifested more than Christian fortitude under somewhat more than Christian suffering,—she has served the hand which so often plunged the dagger in her bosom,—and she has been insulted, during the dreadful scene, with the title of rebel to her king and constitution. The catholics of Ireland have petitioned,—the people of England would have rebelled. The reward of the Irish nation has been partial freedom, that of England has been the first constitution in the world. The tyrants of Ireland were the champions of British liberty, who have

so often refused to the humility of the Irish petitioners what they extorted from their kings by the terror of their swords. Those historical facts require no comment. The mind of the reader will draw its own conclusions ; and whether protestant or catholic, or presbyterian, he will ask himself how a people should speak or act, when they are about seeking the restoration of their rights, the mere performance of a contract which has been infamously violated. Is it in the tones of lady-like meekness that Englishmen assert the rights of their country ? Is it in the language of hollow, hypocritical sycophancy, the people of England address their rulers, when they complain of their privileges violated, or their freedom impaired ? Do they measure their words, or do they ever suppose that words can be too strong to give expression to their honest indignation ? This, then, should ever be the tone and language of the Irish nation : no other is either audible or intelligible in the parliament of England ; you are heard because you are respected, and you are respected because you are not afraid to express your resentment. Those observations most naturally precede the recital of the laws which we are now about to set down,—laws which made the protestant despicable, and the catholic a slave ; which made Ireland a prison, and the Irish protestant nothing better than the jailor. “ Never,” says Mr Grattan, the profound and eloquent advocate of religious and political freedom, “ could the law of nature suffer one sect of men to take away the liberty of another, and that of a

numerous part of their people, without feeling a diminution of their own strength and freedom ; but in making laws on the subject of religion, we forget mankind, until their own distraction admonishes statesmen of two truths ; the one, that there is a God, the other, that there is a people ; never was it permitted to any nation—they may perplex their understanding with various apologies—but never long was it permitted, to exclude from essential, from what they themselves have pronounced essential blessings, a great portion of themselves, for periods of time, and for no reason, or what is worse, for such reason as you have advanced. Conquerors, or tyrants proceeding from conquerors, have scarcely ever, for any length of time, governed by those partial disabilities.” “ But a people so to govern itself,” says Mr Grattan, “ or rather, under the name of government, so to exclude one another ; the industrious, the opulent, the useful ; that part that feeds you with its industry, and supplies you with its taxes, weaves that you may wear, and ploughs that you may eat ;—to exclude a body so useful, so numerous, and that for, and in the mean time, to tax them *ad libitum*, and occasionally to pledge their lives and fortunes, for what ? for their disfranchisement ; it cannot be done : continue it, and you expect from your laws what it were blasphemy to ask of your Maker. Such policy always turns on the inventor, and bruises him under the stroke of the sceptre or the sword, or sinks him under the accumulation of debt and loss of dominion.” Yet such was the fatal and disastrous policy

which the protestant parliament of King William felt it necessary to adopt, for the security of church and state ; it established the ascendancy, but it laid waste the country ; and the Irish monopolist, who was daily insulted by the haughty mandates of his English task-master, might console himself for the loss of his proper station as an Irishman, by the wretched sentiment of pride, with which he might parade through the desert fields, and haggard population of his unfortunate country. The Irish parliament of 1695, proceeded to the great work of enlightened legislature, whose effects have been described by the glowing pencil of our Grattan ; and it must be admitted, they proceeded most methodically in their honourable office. They began by striking at the root of human power or human feeling. They passed an act for the establishment of general ignorance among the catholics of Ireland ; or, in the words of the act, to restrain foreign and domestic education ;* a sort of legislative hu-

* Mr Matthew O'Connor, speaking of this proceeding of the Irish parliament, has the following observations :—

“ In the plenitude of the power now granted to them, they passed the act to restrain foreign education, designing thereby nothing less than to brutalise the Irish. The apology for this violation of the laws of God and man, rests on the danger that resulted to the state from the many seminaries of learning which the Irish had in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany ; but the provisions of the act restraining foreign education, evidently demonstrate that its aim was not to guard against the alleged danger, but to root out the seeds of knowledge, and to extirpate the catholic religion altogether.”

Mr O'Connor has, in a former part of his work, represented

manity, which enacted, that the mind hereafter to be enslaved, should be as insensible as possible of its degradation ; or, as Mr Burke finely describes the act,—“ While this restraint upon foreign and domestic education was part of an horrible and impious system of servitude, the members were well suited to the body. To render them patient, under a deprivation of all the rights of human nature, every thing which could give them a knowledge or feeling of those rights was rationally forbidden. To render humanity fit to be insulted, it was fit that it should be degraded. Indeed, I have ever thought the prohibition of the means of improving our rational nature, to be the worst species of tyranny that the insolence and perverseness of mankind ever dared to exercise. This goes to all men, in all situations, to whom education can be denied.”

This loyal parliament then passed an act for banishing all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all the regulars of the popish clergy, out of Ireland, contrary to the express letter of the articles of Limerick, which secured the toleration of the catholic religion and the safety of the priest-

King William as the friend of the Irish catholics. Was William of so bending a disposition as to yield to the wishes of his Irish parliament, if they did not completely correspond with his own? We fear that the infamous code of laws to which he has given his consent, is sufficient to give a very different species of immortality to King William, than the Irish monopolists are in the habit of bestowing on him. Indeed every enlightened protestant, as well as catholic, must abhor the memory of a monarch, who, willing to give freedom to his own country, could so easily consent to the slavery and the misery of Ireland.

hood. They then passed an act to prevent protestants intermarrying with papists. Such were the acts which the glorious revolution of 1688 gave to Ireland. But this loyal parliament of Lord Capel*

* The Irish house of lords did not surrender to the unprincipled rapacity of the commons without a struggle; they manifested some regard for their honour and their character, in the resistance which they made to this insulting outrage on the feelings of the Irish nation. Seven spiritual and five temporal peers have put on record their abhorrence of this perfidious violation of a solemn compact, aggravated by the mockery, that it pretended to confirm what it purposed to destroy. It is conclusive on the merits of this infamous transaction, and worthy the attention of those who contend that the articles of Limerick were not violated by the Irish legislature. The protest of the Irish lords is as follows:—

“ 1. Because the title did not agree with the body of the bill; the title being an act for the confirmation of the Irish articles, whereas no one of said articles was therein fully confirmed. 2. Because the articles were to be confirmed to them to whom they were granted; but the confirmation of them by that bill was such, that it put them in a worse condition than they were in before. 3. Because the bill omitted the material words, “ and all such as are under their protection in the said counties,” which were, by his majesty’s titles patent, declared to be part of the second article; and several persons had been adjudged within said articles who would, if the bill passed into a law, be entirely barred and excluded, so that the words omitted being so very material, and confirmed by his majesty after a solemn debate in council, some express reason ought to be assigned in the bill, in order to satisfy the world in that omission. 4. Because several words were inserted in the bill which were not in the articles, and others omitted, which altered both the sense and meaning thereof. Lastly, because they apprehended that many protestants might and would suffer by the bill in their just rights and pretensions, by reason of their having purchased, and lent money, upon the faith of said article.”

could not refrain from mocking the nation they thus had injured,—they blended their humour with their ferocity, and in a jocular way passed an act for the confirmation of the articles of Limerick. The reader will suppose, that the English government should not have been very jealous of any power with which the protestant ascendancy might be armed, when they so faithfully turned those arms against the civil and religious liberties of their catholic countrymen. The Irish parliament, however, presumed rather too much on their past services to England. Though they were so obedient as to forge chains for the catholics, they should not flatter themselves with the liberty of making their own laws or regulating their own slaves. They were for the future to consider themselves as the humbled agents of an English government, prompt at every call which national jealousy would give to inflict or suspend the torture. The case of Mr Molyneux, the distinguished author of the book styled “The cause of Ireland’s being bound by acts of Parliament in England, stated,” is a proof in point. This book asserted the legislative independence of Ireland. It talked of the rights of Irishmen; but the author forgot that he was struggling for the independence of a monopoly, and that in such a contest the people took no part. The catholics of Ireland, who were the great majority, must have smiled at the impotence of that sect which were so infatuated as to strip their natural defenders of their arms; they must have triumphed in the degradation of such folly, and se-

cretly delighted in the humiliation of their native tyrants. The promptitude with which King William declared his determination to secure the independence of the Irish parliament, is perhaps one of the many reasons why his "immortal memory," is so often celebrated by that description of Irishmen called Orangemen. The Irish house of commons, in one of their intervals from the prosecution of their catholic countrymen, had the imprudence to make some little effort on behalf of their own legislative independence; their great zeal for King William, they credulously supposed, would have been a sufficient atonement for such an experiment. The fate of Mr Molyneux's book dissipated all their hopes, and all the power they would be allowed to wield was the power of putting to the torture those of their countrymen who now lay at their feet, unable to resist their oppressors. The English parliament voted an address, desiring he would give directions for the discovery and punishment of the author. They implored his Majesty that he would take care to see the laws which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland punctually observed, and discourage every thing which might have a tendency to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England. How was this remonstrance of the house of commons received by King William of "immortal memory?" His Majesty most graciously promised, that he would make every exertion to promote the wishes of his parliament, or in other words, that he would put down the legislative independence of the Irish par-

liament. The Irish protestant, who reads this transaction, cannot but feel indignant at the ignorant audacity of those persons who are annually holding up King William as the great patron of Irish liberties ; he cannot refrain from recalling to his recollection the proceedings of the Irish parliament during the government of King James, which asserted the independence of the Irish legislature ; passed one act in favour of liberty of conscience, and another in support of the industry and the trade of Ireland. He will take down with pride and gratification, that this Irish parliament, who so acted in support of Irish freedom, was a parliament composed of protestants and catholics ; that the interest and the glory of each was the interest and glory of all ;—and that the parliamentary independence of Ireland was considered by them as best and most firmly secured by maintaining the rights and privileges of all classes and denominations of Christians.

The catholics of Ireland most naturally looked around for refuge against the merciless persecution of intolerance. They appealed in vain to the letter of a solemn treaty which secured their liberties and properties ; they appealed in vain to the honour of the *immortal* King William, to stand between them and the never-ceasing fire of the Irish parliament. They therefore made their last appeal to the powers of the continent ; to Charles II. of Spain, and Leopold IV. of Austria, the then *catholic* allies of Great Britain. The overwhelming ambition of Lewis XIV. united the arms of England, Austria, and Spain ; but had Austria or Spain interfered for

the catholics, the friends of religious liberty in England, the whigs of England, would have been slow in giving to the British monarch the necessary supplies to support him in his favourite object. They required, as the condition of their zeal in his support, full and uncontrolled permission to torture the Irish catholic ; and the strange spectacle was now exhibited to the reflection and the indignation of all enlightened men, namely, a miserable competition between the great advocates of British liberty and the French monarch, Lewis XIV. who would be the greatest tyrant over the human mind ; who would be the most zealous oppressor of conscience ; or who would most boldly set at defiance the laws of God and the rights of human nature. Lewis XIV. banished 800,000 protestants, who were embellishing and enriching his empire by their genius, their industry, and their virtues. He repealed the edict of Nantz, which the enlightened policy of Henry IV. gave to suffering humanity. This does not astonish, because it was the act of an ignorant, rapacious and unprincipled monarch ; but that he should find a rival in the British parliament, which boasted of establishing in their own country the finest constitution on earth, must excite the surprise and sorrow of every reader. That parliament, and their creatures in the Irish parliament, banished millions from Ireland, because they committed the atrocious crime of persevering in a religion professed by the great majority of the Christian world, which was once the religion of

England, and was then the hope and consolation of every Irishman. *

* Mr Burke, in his admirable tract on the penal laws, (perhaps one of the most valuable productions which came from that great man,) draws the following parallel between the conduct of the French despot and bigot with that of the English and Irish protestants and presbyterians, in the reign of William. The profound views of this great statesman are so likely to be read with interest, and to be estimated with veneration by the majority of those into whose hands this compendium will fall, that we feel it an important part of our duty to make such extracts as bear upon the period and the events which we may happen to be recording. Speaking of that perfidious act of Louis the XIV., namely, the repeal of the edict of Nantz, Mr Burke thus observes:—" This act of injustice, which let loose on that monarch such a torrent of invective and reproach, and which threw so dark a cloud over all the splendour of a most illustrious reign, falls far short of the case in Ireland. The privileges which the protestants of that kingdom enjoyed antecedent to this revocation, were far greater than the Roman Catholics of Ireland ever aspired to under a contrary establishment. The number of their sufferers, if considered absolutely, is not the half of ours; if considered relatively to the body of each community, it is not perhaps a twentieth part; and then the penalties and incapacities, which grew from that revocation, are not so grievous in their nature, nor so certain in their execution, nor so ruinous by a great deal, to the civil prosperity of the state, as those which were established for a perpetual law in our unhappy country.— It cannot be thought to arise from affectation, that I call it so. What other name can be given to a country which contains so many hundred thousand human creatures reduced to a state of most abject servitude.

" In putting this parallel, I take it for granted that we can stand for this short time very clear of our party distinctions. If it were enough, by the use of an odious and unpopular word, to determine the question, it would be no longer a subject of rational disquisition; since that very prejudice which gives those

We have seen that King William, of “ immortal memory,” readily assented to the kind and sis-

odious names, and which is the party charged for doing so, and for the consequences of it, would then become the judge also, But I flatter myself, that not a few will be found who do not think that the names of protestant and papist can make any change in the nature of essential justice ; such men will not allow that to be proper treatment to the one of those denominations which would be cruelty to the other, and which converts its very crime into the instrument of its defence. They will hardly persuade themselves, that what was bad policy in France can be good in Ireland, or that what was intolerable injustice in an arbitrary monarch, becomes, only by being more extended and more violent, an equitable procedure in a country professing to be governed by law. It is however impossible not to observe with some concern, that there are many also of a different disposition ; a number of persons whose minds are so formed, that they find the communion of religion to be a close and endearing tie, and their country to be no bond at all ; to whom common altars are a better relation than common habitations and a common civil interest ; whose hearts are touched with the distresses of foreigners, and are abundantly awake to all the tenderness of human feeling on such an occasion, even at the moment that they are inflicting the very same distresses, or worse, on their fellow-citizens, without the least sting of compassion or remorse. To commiserate the distresses of all men suffering innocently, perhaps meritoriously, is generous, and very agreeable to the better part of our nature ; a disposition that ought by all means to be cherished. But to transfer humanity from its natural basis, our legitimate and home-bred connections ; to lose all feeling for those who have grown up by our sides, in our eye, the benefit of whose cares and labours we have partaken from our birth, and meretriciously to *hunt abroad after foreign affections*, is such a disarrangement of the whole system of our duties, that I do not know whether benevolence so displayed, is not almost the same thing as destroyed ; or what effect bigotry could have produced, that is more fatal to society. This no one could help ob-

terly sensibilities of England towards our insulted country; he promised, with all due submission to the higher power of English prejudice, and English

serving, who has seen our doors kindly and bountifully thrown open to foreign sufferers for conscience, whilst through the same ports were issuing fugitives of our own; driven from their country, for a cause, which to an indifferent person would seem to be exactly similar; whilst we stood by without any sense of the impropriety of the extraordinary scene, accusing and practising injustice.

For my part, there is no circumstance in all the contradiction of our most mysterious nature, that appears to be more humiliating than the use we are disposed to make of those sad examples, which seem purposely marked for our correction and improvement. Every instance of fury and bigotry in other men, one should think, would naturally fill us with an horror of that disposition. The effect, however, is distinctly contrary. We are inspired, it is true, with a very sufficient hatred for the party, but with no detestation at all of the proceeding; nay, we are apt to urge our dislike of such measures as a reason for imitating them, and by an almost incredible absurdity, because some powers have destroyed their country by their persecuting spirit, to argue, that we ought to retaliate on them by destroying our own. Such are the effects, and such, I fear, has been the intention, of those numberless books which are daily printed and industriously spread, of the persecutions in other countries and other religious persuasions."

In the reign of which we are now writing, the persecution of the French protestants was the constant theme of every Englishman; it excited pity in every bosom, and sharpened the vengeance of that war which England then waged against the French nation; yet these same English who thus sympathized with the French protestant, could look on the tortures of their catholic fellow-subjects without a single emotion of compassion, or the slightest manifestation of sympathy. Such, however, has ever been the blindness of all sects to their own bigotry.

avarice and injustice, that the Irish parliament should be kept down ;—well and faithfully did this monarch of “ immortal memory” keep his word. At this period the woollen manufacture of Ireland was sufficiently prosperous and important to rouse the jealousy of our sister ; with Ireland it was a profitable branch of commerce. Before the time of Charles I. we endraped our wool, and exported what we did not consume to foreign markets. Of this privilege of export we were deprived by several acts of parliament, more especially one enacted in the reign of Charles II. which was deeply marked with the most unjust severity ; all this would not satisfy King William, of “ immortal memory.” The woollen manufacture of Ireland should be extinguished ; so great and ardent was William’s affection for the industry and prosperity of our country. Indeed this transaction is of so black and impudent a colour, that it would be doing sad injustice to the “ immortal memory” of our King William, if we did not set down the exact words of solemn introduction with which William and his audacious parliament had the hardihood to preface this unprecedented outrage on our country. The Irishman who reads this, and who witnesses the annual commemoration of that very king who thus trampled on the liberties and the rights of Ireland, cannot suppress his indignation against that impertinent faction who presume to style themselves the friends of Ireland. Irishmen may measure the wisdom and the kindness of their rulers by the frequency or the unfrequency of those exhibitions

which sometimes parade our metropolis, rouse the irritability of insulted virtue, expose the best men of our country to the insults of a mercenary yeomanry or soldiery, promote drunkenness and abandonment among aldermen, and encourage the vicious and the corrupt to make experiments on the patience of the arm, which, if once roused, could so easily extinguish them. The aldermen and the corporations of Ireland will not forget, when they are drinking "the immortal memory" of their demigod and hero, that the destruction of the woollen manufacture is not the least among the topics of recommendation which may be urged in his favour. As this miserable transaction at once displays the tyranny of King William and his parliament, and the fallen and wretched state of the Irish parliament; as it exhibits the playful mockery with which Ireland was then treated by her bitterest enemy, it would be an act of justice to set down the memorable words in which the English parliament thought proper to prevail on an Irish parliament to rob their own country. We request the reader to pay particular attention to the following specimen of English justice, during the reign of the immortal King William. In 1698, the English House of Commons addressed his Majesty to the following effect :

"That being very sensible, the wealth and power of England do in a great measure depend on the preserving the woollen manufacture, as much as possible, entire to this realm, they thought that it became them, like their ancestors, to be

jealous of the establishment and increase thereof elsewhere ; and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent it. That they could not, without pain, observe that Ireland, which is dependent on and protected by England (what an impudent mockery !) in the enjoyment of all she has, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which would be so enriching to themselves and so profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both nations. That the consequence thereof would necessitate his Majesty's parliament of England to interpose, to prevent the mischief, unless his Majesty" *of immortal memory*, " by his authority and great wisdom, should find means to secure the trade of England, by making his subjects of Ireland preserve the joint interest of both kingdoms ; wherefore they implored his Majesty's protection and favour in this matter, and that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employed in Ireland, to use their utmost endeavours to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, (except it be imported hither), and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen manufactures, to which the commons of England should always be ready to give their utmost assistance."

This is so delightful an instance of English kindness to the Irish people, that we thought it would be a pity to lose one word of it. There is

so much humour in the manner with which they plunder Ireland of her property, and so candid a care of the industry and the property of England, that we do not wonder a drunken corporation should riot in ecstasy of joy when they are pouring out libations to the "immortal memory" of the monarch who so faithfully promised to put in execution against Ireland the utmost wishes of the English parliament. What did the immortal sovereign reply to the above parental address of the commons? He made answer that he should do all that in him lay to promote the trade of England, and to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland. He also promised to give all possible encouragement to linen manufactures. This is one among the many reasons why the corporations of Ireland, the last remaining depots of every thing which the enlightened protestant and catholic consider ignorant and contemptible, so perpetually offer up their incense to this sainted monarch.

To him who will estimate the qualities of King William by the infamous acts to which he was obliged to give his consent, the character of this monarch, in the exercise of his royal power in Ireland, must appear odious and detestable. Those of the Irish people who are so clamorous in his praise, found their veneration for King William on those passages of his life which excite the indignation of every honest Irishman. But justice to the memory even of a recorded enemy of Ireland, obliges us to admit, that William had to contend with a rancorous malignity, which national jealousy has always

excited and kept alive in the bosom of England. In the front of the acts which we have recited, acts which might have satisfied English rapacity, it is pleasant to find a catholic, (and a catholic, too, who should feel for the suffering of his country, and often reflect on the fame of the venerated family of which he is a member), bearing testimony to the liberality of the monarch in whose reign the war of penal law most bitterly commenced against his liberties and his religion. In a late publication of Mr Mathew O'Connor, we find the following observations; they may palliate the crimes of King William against Ireland, but they add nothing either to the strength or the firmness of his understanding. They make him a passive and pliable instrument; obedient to the suggestions of the most vicious passions; the executive of any measure of legislation which the jealousy or the avarice of commercial monopoly might please to dictate. Surely such a character is not that of a great king. Mr O'Connor thus writes:

“In Holland, this generous prince, unfettered and uncontrolled, displayed the full blaze of his shining qualities. In England, where his throne was blockaded and his power contracted; where he was forced to capitulate to faction and dismiss his guards; where he was stript of all the substantial powers, and left only the pageantry of royalty, he was forced into measures which threw a shade on the lustre of his character.” (This is rather a light description of the acts we have recited, and to which King William gave his consent. Those

acts were measures of vital importance to the comfort and happiness of four-fifths of the Irish people. Those measures into which Mr O'Connor says William was forced, were flagrant and infamous violations of that honour which this immortal sovereign pledged to Ireland.) However, Mr O'Connor proceeds: " Yet on many occasions his firmness and wisdom, and long adversity, burst all restraints, and displayed themselves at the commencement of his reign, in the avowed protection, and towards the close, in underhand countenance and partiality to the catholics. He endeavoured to atone for the acts of severity and injustice to which he was compelled to assent by the clamour of faction and the calls of necessity.—233,106 Acres were restored to catholics, adjudged to be comprized within the articles of Limerick and Galway. Those articles had been expounded beneficially in favour of the Irish by the commissioners of claims, and 74,733 were restored to persons pardoned, or whose outlawries were reversed by the special favour and protection of William. This partiality became a subject of the bitterest invective in the English commons, and forms a permanent feature in the report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the value and disposal of the forfeited estates."

Supposing even this defence to be accurate in point of fact, and Mr O'Connor has taken it from the partial authority of King William's biographer, it must be admitted, that the monarch who had not the firmness to refuse putting his hand to laws which amounted to an extirpation of the religion,

and an extinction of the rights of Ireland, was either a very weak or a very unprincipled sovereign ; nor can we see how the partial protections mentioned by Mr Harris, his panegyrist and biographer, can atone for the sweeping destruction of a whole nation, to which King William gave his prompt and efficacious assent. Speaking as Irishmen, and upon Irish liberty, we cannot admit that this king, of " immortal memory," should find an advocate in any pen devoted to the rights of our country. The ignorant Irish corporator toasts the " immortal memory," because his father and grandfather showed him the example ; but the enlightened protestant or catholic Irishman, who reads the Irish statute-book, turns from the record with indignation, and laments that the great champion of constitutional liberty should be the submissive instrument of Irish slavery.

The Irish parliament were taught, in the instance of Mr Molyneux's book in defence of their legislative independence, how to demean themselves on the great question of the woollen trade in Ireland. Poor creatures !* the wretched victims of their own

* Mr Curran (the present master of the rolls) has given to posterity a fine picture of the situation of the parliamentary monopolists of Ireland, during the existence of their penal laws. It is one of those master touches that so often fell from the pencil of our eloquent Irishman, which succeeding orators have a hundred times repeated, and which none have improved. The reader of this passage is able to take in all the melancholy circumstances which followed in the train of the penal laws. The figure presented by the orator, comprehends all the horrors of unjust laws,

barbarous and besotted policy, they were obliged to kiss the rod, and bow in silence to the mandate of the English parliament. The lords justices called upon the Irish legislature to put down the woollen manufacture. They most respectfully answered in the affirmative; or, as Dean Swift observed, they resolved that they would rather live on *salt herrings* than the *best beef*; and therefore faithfully promised to encourage the linen manufacture of Ireland.

On the tenth of October, 1698, the Irish commons resolved that the woollen trade of Ireland should be *regulated*. The reader will attend to the mild phrase of *regulation*, and then recollect the plan of regulation this honest parliament adopted. They imposed a duty of four shillings on every twenty shillings value of broad cloth exported from the 25th of March, 1699, and two shillings on every

and he turns with pity and disgust from the consideration of a system which could generate such a monster.

“ Let me ask you,” said Mr Curran to the Irish parliament of 1796, “ how have those laws affected the protestant subject and protestant constitution? In that interval, were they free? Did they possess that liberty which they denied to their brethren? No: where there are *inhabitants*, but *no people*, a free government cannot be kept steady or fixed in its seat. You had indeed a government, but it was planted in civil dissention and watered in civil blood; and whilst the virtuous luxuriance of its branches aspired to heaven, its infernal roots shot downwards to their congenial regions, and were intertwined in hell. Your ancestors thought themselves the oppressors of their fellow-subjects—but they were only their jailors; and the justice of Providence would have been frustrated, if their own slavery had not been the punishment of their vice and their folly.”

twenty shillings value of all serges, bays, kersies, or any other sort of new drapery made of wool, or even mixed with wool, friezes only excepted. Here was the *regulation*, or rather, here was the “act of suicide,” which was insultingly denominated regulation, and which most effectually succeeded in its object, namely, the destruction of the woollen manufactories and manufactures of Ireland. But even this did not satisfy England. The English parliament passed an act, prohibiting the export, directly or indirectly, from Ireland, after the 24th of June, 1699, except to England or Wales.

Those infamous proceedings against our devoted country were accompanied by an act which prohibited to papists the profession of the law. The biographer of King William says, that “no transaction, during the reign of this monarch, so pressed upon his spirits, or so humbled his pride, as the resumption of the grants of the forfeited estates in Ireland by the English parliament.” Of this we can have little doubt; and it is to be remarked, we find no such opinion from King William’s biographer, when that monarch was setting his seal to the atrocious violations of law and justice, which we have already enumerated. The reason is obvious; King William was distressed that he could not parcel out Irish property to his Dutch and German adventurers, as he thought proper, and the pride of the monarch was wounded in the contest with the rapacity of his parliament. Ireland was too precious a field for the complete satiety of the English plunderer; and therefore Mr O’Connor

may here say, that William was forced to give up all his old loving and affectionate Dutch auxiliaries. It is said, that the violence done to the king's feelings by this act of the British parliament, made an impression on his mind and spirits from which he never rallied to the hour of his death. Much has been said of the spirit of toleration which governed the conduct and characterised the disposition of King William. We shall put the legislative acts of his reign against the conjectures or the assertions of his panegyrists. We shall open the Irish statute book, where every Irishman may read the character of this monarch of "immortal memory" written in the blood of our country. We should therefore consider his Irish admirers as the enemies of Ireland, and estimate their abhorrence of every liberal and enlightened principle in proportion to the degree of enthusiasm with which they revive the memory of King William, when considered as monarch of Ireland. As the indefatigable opponent of foreign despotism, we will join in general admiration of William's memory, but as the sovereign of our country, whose rights, civil and religious, he basely trampled on, after giving his solemn pledge to support and protect them, we must, in common with nineteen-twentieths of our country, lament that he ever existed,

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

ANNE.

A. D. 1702. **T**HE reader of the preceding reign would be inclined to conclude, that sufficient zeal had been manifested by the advocates of what was now denominated “ protestant ascendancy,” to destroy the religion and violate the rights, as well as insult the feelings, of their catholic countrymen. The pages which are to follow, will display the eccentric ingenuity of malice and cowardice—of malice to torture, and cowardice to triumph over an innocent and unoffending nation, which had won, by the sacrifice of its best blood, the enjoyment of those privileges that the confiscating spirit of monopoly had dared to withhold. He who is acquainted with the splendid events which distinguished the reign of Anne—who has followed the rapid and astonishing progress of English arms, under the directing genius of Marlborough—who has stopped to reflect on that constellation of talent

and learning which illuminated the Augustan period of British history, will turn with wonder and astonishment from the vandal scene of infamous oppression under which our people were then doomed to suffer. He will no longer wonder at the feeling which prompts the honest Irish heart to repine at the fluctuation of England's fortune; nor will he in future join in that hypocritical exultation which the sycophants of power would pretend to feel at the victories and glory of the nation who persecutes them. There can be no better evidence of the successful debasement of the public mind by the perpetual infliction of ignominy, than the hollow and affected loyalty which too often distinguished the class of the unprivileged Irish, who were nearest to the seat of power; whose humiliation was conspicuous in proportion to their rank and fortune among their oppressed fellow citizens; who fawned, and flattered, and professed, though the public eye turned from the scene with indignation, and talked of loyalty, and content, and satisfaction, under the chains whose clanking still rung in the ear of every Irishman. Nothing can be more contemptible, nor more destructive to the fair honest claims of the people, than this aristocratic insincerity, which Ireland too often witnesses. The government of the country are deceived by an appearance of attachment and of loyalty, where such feeling neither can nor ought to exist. The people are abused by the specious display of a spirit which only covers the wound that ought to be probed and examined. The catholic aristocrat, who talked of

his loyalty under the laws of William or of Anne, deceived the prince as well as the people. His hypocrisy was rewarded by additional degradation, and his exclamations of loyalty were answered by the ferocious denunciations of monopoly. The people, who reflected on the meanness of such duplicity, triumphed in the ignominious repulsion of the sycophant, and the pride of the monopolist was fed and nourished by the precious incense of his noble slave. We are now come to that period when the integrity of nations to each other was fully and unequivocally developed; when national liberality might have been practised with magnanimity; when England, if inclined to administer Ireland with justice, might have ruled with dignity and with safety; when the hostile arm was in the grave, and the susceptible and affectionate heart of Ireland could have been gained by kindness and protection; when England might boast of having reached the highest climax of human greatness; when she presented her firm and undaunted countenance, and shook to the foundation the only power which menaced the liberties of Europe; when every breeze which could disturb her prosperity was hushed to silence, and the mind of her monarch reposed in the victories which astonished and intimidated the world. This surely might have been the period of concession to Ireland; yet this was the period which England chose to select, when Ireland could be put to the torture with impunity; insulted for her unthinking confidence in a nation's honour, and stript of the last sad remnant of that covering which

sheltered her from the scorn and contempt of nations.

Let no Irishman ever forget that this proud day, when England raised her forehead to the skies, Ireland, bathed in tears, sunk in despondency to the earth, the sport of every fool, the subject of every ruffian hand to practise its tricks of torture, and the melancholy spectacle of a confiding, innocent and betrayed country. No wonder that the voice of every muse, on the sad subject of Ireland, should be that of sorrow and despair; no wonder that the Irish harp should sound its deep and melancholy tone, when the sufferings of such a people are the subject of its strain. Our poetry and our music make their powerful appeals to the heart, and the dark mournful hue of oppression increases the interest, and adds to the beauties, of the finest productions of Irish genius. In the reign of William, the sword of oppression and violence was sometimes suspended. Unschooled in the arts of persecution, that illustrious monarch sometimes retreated from the task which national prejudice assigned him. He required some time to reconcile him to the work of intolerance, but was at length a successful pupil to the instructions of monopoly. But the reign we are now recording, commenced in despotism, and ended as it began. The oppressor is generally systematic in the work of torture; he is delighted with the capabilities of suffering which his victim may possess, and if the latter can survive the experiment, he would prefer his gradual destruction to immediate annihilation. The laws

enacted in Ireland, under the parental protection of the "immortal William," might have appeased the vengeance of monopoly, during the reign of that illustrious monarch; but succeeding tyrants of Ireland wanted some new wound with which they might feast their eyes, and the "good Queen Anne" most kindly consented to their gratification. The Irish monopolists imagined new danger to the constitution in church and state, and called for new powers to avert them. The catholic priest, though exiled from his country, still appeared formidable. Even the memory of his religious and moral example should be provided against, and the last mind which remained in the country, that might perhaps have retained a single principle which the catholic priest had planted, must be banished, before the constitution in church and state could be considered secure against its enemies. Were the catholics, or, in other words, were the people of Ireland guilty of any acts which could have exasperated the hand of power? Were they inclined to rebel against this tyranny? No; history says they were not; and the observation of mankind attests, that the sanguinary code of Anne would never have been enacted—that no government would have so dared to violate the rights of human nature, if a spirit had existed in the people or their leaders, which would have had the courage to resist the oppression.

England found Ireland prostrate, and she trampled on her. Had even a breathing of indignation been perceived, that same England would not have

dared to make the experiment. Let it be a lesson to the future men of our country ; let them meet the approaches of tyranny with a steady and determined tone, or the same scenes may again be acted, which disgrace the pages of our history at the commencement of the eighteenth century. The constitution has now armed the people of Ireland with the strong and irresistible power of public remonstrance. Let that remonstrance be as firm as the grievance of which it complains is severe ; and though the retreat of intolerance may be slow, yet the light of reason and christianity will illuminate the progress of the petitioner.

It is painful to recall the human mind to the contemplation of those laws which were conceived by the malignant genius of monopoly ; for the interest of mankind it would perhaps be better to bury these examples of public infamy, the very mention of which must more or less contribute to the degradation of public morals ; but the duties of the historian silence the voice of the philanthropist ; and the loathing narration of every villany, as well as the record of every virtue, are equally the labours and the office of impartial history.

We have already detailed the splendid labours of King William “ of immortal memory,” against this country. It was he who gave the first grand and master-stroke,—it was he who first plundered the mind of Ireland,—it was he who legalized national ignorance and national immorality. He banished the instructor of youth, and the preacher of religion,—he exposed the people to the arms of the

midnight robber,—he forbade the Irish catholic the possession or the use of arms,—he established a never-failing source of perpetual discord and suspicion among the different sects of Christians,—he prevented intermarriage between the protestant and catholic,—and threw up a perpetual bar to the concord or happiness of the nation. But that law which the “immortal king” thought proper, in his affection for Ireland, to give his consent to, and which was the natural prelude to all the oppression which followed, was that with which he commenced his reign, namely, * the act which excluded the

* Among the many productions which the genius and spirit of the 19th century has produced, on the melancholy subject of the sufferings of the Irish catholics, there is none perhaps which merits so high a place in the estimation of every honest and enlightened mind, as that work which its distinguished author has styled, “A Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland,” Were we in want of a measure of the value of this performance, we should immediately find it in the efforts of the enemies of public liberty, to diminish its effects by the combined struggles of power, corruption, and sophistry. It would indeed be a work of supererogation to panegyryze a performance which the splendid eloquence of Bushe has already immortalized. Extorting praises from its enemies, what must be the admiration of its friends? What must be the strength of that arm under which the whole embattled host of the British government in Ireland is obliged to crouch? What must be the strength of that reasoning, which makes even intolerance tremble? and when, in order to be heard with temper, before no very friendly tribunal, the prosecutor is obliged to acknowledge the great pretensions of the man whose book he would endeavour to stigmatize? Ireland smiles at all this theatrical tumbling in the court: she admires the brilliancy of those powers which dazzle, even on the side of falsehood, but retires from the exhibition with contempt for the

catholics of Ireland from seats in the legislature, by imposing on them the necessity of taking those oaths which amounted to a renunciation of their religion. King William, of immortal memory, did all this; yet the corporations and the aldermen of Ireland will wonder that the Irish catholic should be insulted by the annual celebration of his memory.

judgment which could waste its time in an idle struggle with reason, justice and truth. Public fame has attributed to Counsellor Scully, a distinguished member of the Catholic Board, the execution of this most useful and necessary work to his country. Malignity would not be content unless the wreath, which Ireland would weave round the brow of its author, was rendered doubly precious by its calumny. His enemies have exhausted their fancy and their folly. Sophistry lies wearied with its unprofitable struggles; and the able expositor of the indignities under which his country suffers in the beginning of the nineteenth century, is enthroned on the ruins of his enemies. This book, of course, is sought for by every mind: it is to be found in every library; and promises, by the clearness and candour of its reasoning, to be the leading light to our legislators in their progress to the temple of justice. We have thus gratified our feelings in bearing our homage to the labours of our celebrated countryman. We hope that into whatever hands this compendium may fall, the observations we have made will induce them to read a work, which should be admired by the friends, because it has been persecuted by the enemies of Irish liberty.

Having said so much of the author, and of the great value of the production, we shall now take from his pages that passage which induced us to call the reader's attention to him. Speaking of the injuries which must flow to the catholic body, by their exclusion from the legislature, the author of the "Statement" makes the following unanswerable observations:

"On the other hand, were catholics eligible to seats in the legislature; were there only ten catholics in the upper house,

The "good Queen Anne" endeavoured to exceed his majesty in her affection for her Irish subjects. She therefore commenced her administration of Ireland with a perfidious violation of every law, divine and human. Having had the unprincipled

and twenty in the lower house, (which is a profitable estimate for the first ten years), how many mischiefs and errors might be avoided, how many useful projects framed and accomplished. No protestant member, however upright and enlightened, can be expected by the catholics to be constantly prepared to protect their property from unequal impost in parliament, their rights from aggression, their fame from calumny, or their religion from gross misrepresentation. Catholic members, and they alone, would prove competent to those tasks. A member of this description, duly qualified, speaking upon the affairs, complaints and interests of his own community, could readily falsify the fabricated tale, refute the sophistical objection, unravel the apparent difficulty, state the true extent of what is desired, what is practicable. Such a catholic, actually knowing the condition of his fellow-sufferers, could put down a calumny in the instant of its utterance, and this not merely by contradicting, but by referring with promptitude to existing documents, facts, and authorities; by quoting time, place, and circumstance, and bringing within the immediate view of the house and the public, the necessary materials of refutation."

"Finally," says this enlightened writer, "the statesman may truly observe of this exclusion of the catholics from both houses of the legislature, 'Continue this exclusion of the catholics, and the removal of all the other grievances will be of little value, and of no permanent security to the catholics, or to the empire.—Remove the exclusion, and other grievances cannot long survive.'"

Such, no doubt, is the importance of a seat in the legislative assembly: and King William, "of immortal memory," was so sensible of this, that he commenced his war against the Irish catholic, by plundering him of this great and paramount privilege.

courage to break the solemn obligations into which the English nation had entered with Ireland, when the latter agreed to lay down her arms at Limerick, the English government could, with less difficulty, proceed to the commission of every outrage which its avarice, or its spirit of despotism, might chance to suggest. Queen Anne introduced her ferocious system of government in Ireland, by an act which went to expel the inhabitants of Ireland from the lands of their fathers. She enacted, that no catholic should have the power of purchasing any part of the forfeited lands; and that all leases which might have been made of such lands, shall be annulled, except those leases which might have been made to the poor cottagers of two acres; thus giving to the Irish such privileges as might best secure their vassalage to their task-masters. “A law so barbarous,” says Mr O’Connor, “has no parallel in the records of nations;” yet the genius of the “good Queen Anne” could surpass the barbarity, as we shall see hereafter. No lapse of time could purge the catholic of the hideous crime of fidelity to his religion, and attachment to his country. Never could he have the power, by the honourable labours of industry, of recovering those lands which were forfeited by the intemperate spirit of his fathers. He should consent to abandon every principle of honour and morality, before he could be qualified to be received into the bosom of the glorious constitution. Such an act might have for some time satisfied the craving appetite of rapacity; but so long as the victim had life, so long had the oppressor

a propensity to indulge in cruelty. The act, therefore, which in its vicious perfection seems to reach the very summit of monopolizing malignity, is the act "for preventing the further growth of popery," by which the presbyterian and the catholic were equally levelled to the ground; in which the advocates of the church took their merciless vengeance on their old republican persecutors, whose industry and genius were then raising the north of Ireland into wealth, numbers, and consequence. This wealth might have circulated among the catholics of the west and the south; and the spirit of political liberty, which ever found an asylum in the bosom of the presbyterian, might have communicated its contagion to the almost extinguished embers of catholic patriotism. The bill above-mentioned, so celebrated for its infamy, went to the total expulsion of the catholics from any right or property in land. It disabled them from purchasing either lands or tenements, or taking by inheritance, devise, or gift, any lands in the hands of protestants; making all estates which they might then hold, descendable by gavelkind, except in case of the conformity of the eldest son, rendering the father a mere tenant for life, depriving him of the power of alienating, mortgaging, or encumbering, even for the support or the advancement of younger children, except under the control and discretion of the chancellor." Had the "good Queen Anne" and her Irish monopolists passed an act, which would have banished the entire catholic population of Ireland to some foreign, though hospitable country, humanity

might have had some consolation on which it might have reposed. But this would not have been the complete and finished work of despotism, which the advocates of the free constitution of England so fondly meditated in Ireland. The catholic slave would no longer have ministered to the pastime of his task-master,—the torture would have been removed,—and the groans of a suffering, though unoffending people, would have no longer soothed their tyrants to the sweet sleep of peace and security. The catholic historians have echoed the hypocrisy of protestant writers, in praising the loyalty of the Irish nation, while this work of legal slaughter was carrying on. Far be it from us to praise that submission which the tyrant and the hypocrite will ever dignify with the name of loyalty. We would have felt pleasure in recording the struggle of a brave nation with their cowardly and unprincipled tyrants, and have been consoled by the appeals of our oppressed country to the venerated shades of her O'Moore and O'Neil. What Englishman, who has reflected on the struggles of his ancestors, and who is now reaping the harvest which was sowed by the hand of freedom, must not have rejoiced if Ireland had risen like a giant, and shook off the contemptible tyranny which thus dared to oppress her? We have said that this grand desolating act for “preventing the further growth of popery,” was alike aimed at the presbyterian as the catholic. It was not so much the offspring of sectarian bigotry as national jealousy and tyranny;—it was not so much the act of a protestant as the act of a na-

tion,—it was not to put down the catholic,—it was to extinguish our country, and render, in future, the protestants, catholics, and presbyterians of Ireland, the humble vassals, the hewers of wood and drawers of water to their enlightened and liberal sister country. For this purpose the English tory government introduced a provision into the act, by which all persons in Ireland were rendered incapable of any employment under the crown, or of being magistrates in any city, who should not, agreeably to the test act, receive the sacrament according to the usage of the church of England, thus calling upon the presbyterian to renounce his religion if he wished to enjoy the protection or the privileges of the constitution.

The resistance made by the Irish presbyterian to the introduction of such a provision, into an act which he had conceived was solely levelled against his catholic countrymen, should have been to the future presbyterian of Ireland a fruitful source of instruction on the folly, as well as the malignity, of religious persecution. The anxiety of the English government to depress the catholic, should have demonstrated to the reflecting presbyterian, that catholic subjugation must necessarily lead to the subjugation of their common country; and that the object of England could have been nothing less than the complete conquest of Irish freedom. The reader will observe how slow is the progress of that tolerating spirit which, in his own days, distinguishes the presbyterians; how little like Irishmen, and how much like a sect, they gave their oppo-

sition to this bold effort of the English government against their civil and religious liberties. In their remonstrance to parliament they pass by their catholic sufferer, and complain, in the piteous tone of disappointment, that they, the presbyterians, who had distinguished themselves so long as the persecutors of the catholic religion, should be now assailed by that hand which should have been the first to protect them.

The philosopher smiles at the little contracted ground of defence which is here taken, and warmly hails the arrival of that day which exhibits the Irish presbyterian maintaining his own rights by his enlightened and liberal advocacy of the rights of his catholic countryman. In their petition to the Irish commons they complained, "that, to their great surprise and disappointment, they found a clause inserted in 'the act to prevent the further growth of popery,' which had not its rise in that honourable house, whereby they were disabled from executing any public trust, for the service of his majesty, the protestant religion, or their country, unless, contrary to their consciences, they should receive the Lord's supper according to the rites and usages of the established church." "This clause," says Dr Curry, "of which the presbyterians so bitterly complained, has since been called the 'sacramental test,' then first imposed on the dissenters of Ireland, whose zeal," says our honest countryman, "against the catholic, was so credulously blind at that juncture, that upon a promise given them of having it repealed on the first op-

portunity, they readily concurred in passing, together with the clauses against the catholics, that mortifying one against themselves." Thus was the presbyterian, in the reign of Queen Anne, sacrificed to his own prejudice against his catholic countrymen; and the liberty of our country voluntarily offered up on the altar of bigotry. For a long time the presbyterian was doomed to smart under his folly. The house of Brunswick, however, has connived at the relaxation of the penalty; and the enlightened spirit of toleration which distinguishes the age we now live in, has given to that connivance all the force of an actual repeal. In vain did the principal catholics of Ireland petition against this infamous violation of the faith of nations. The eloquence of Sir Theobald Butler and Anthony Malone, made their fruitless appeal to the reason and sensibility of the lords and commons of Ireland. Such a tribunal was deaf to the voice of pity, of reason and truth; "and thus, on the 7th March, 1704," says Dr Curry, "the royal assent was given to an act, which, besides its being a violation of national faith, has been hitherto productive of every species of private, as well as public injury, by stripping men of their property for not parting with their integrity; by fining and imprisoning them for conscientious dissent from settled forms of worship, or holding tenets merely spiritual, and totally foreign from any interference with the civil government of the state: so that our courts of justice and equity resembled, in these respects, the Roman tribunal punishing the primitive

Christians, for not disavowing the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and embracing that of human institution." It is not easily credited by the liberal understanding of the present age, that any assembly of human beings, possessing the light and charity of Christianity, could have been so barbarized by bigotry and avarice, as the lords and commons of Ireland were, in the reign we are now recording ; or that man should have sunk so low from the proud characteristic of his nature, as to wreath the laurel around the brow of that wretch, whom mankind have ever devoted to the pillory or the scaffold ! It will not be credited, that the Irish legislature should have conferred dignities and honours on the common informer ; and that a solemn resolution can now be found on its journals, to the following effect, " that the prosecuting and informing against papists, was an honourable service to the government of Ireland." The same rewards that civilized society are in the practice of offering for the apprehension of the most abandoned members of the community, the robber, or the murderer, were, in the Augustan age of Queen Anne, offered by the Irish legislature, for the apprehension of the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland. The price of the archbishop's or the bishop's head was L.50, and that of the regular and secular clergyman, was estimated so low as L.20. Thus did the legislature provide for the religion and the morals of Ireland. Yet still the work of desolation was not complete : Irish poor, distinguished as much by the persecution under which they suffered, as by the elastic power

with which their acute and sagacious understandings repelled the struggles of despotism, were found in the ditches and fields of their beloved country, imbibing that instruction which the unconquered courage of their clergy was daily communicating. The catholic priest was pursued even to this humble refuge. The Irish peasant would be a formidable personage, were he suffered to arm himself in his wilderness, with the terrific weapons which he could draw from the half understood writings of Greece and Rome. The schoolmaster, however humble his acquirements, was deemed a furious enemy to the constitution in church and state, and even him, the guardian genius of Queen Anne's government pursued with all its terrors. A reward, therefore, of L.10, was held out for the discovery and conviction of every catholic schoolmaster, usher, or private tutor.

The calamities which must necessarily flow from such infernal legislation, poured abundantly rapid upon the unfortunate inhabitants of our country. Their task-masters often felt and experienced the recoil of their own barbarous folly, because they robbed the hands which might have enriched themselves. The furious and insatiable spirit of monopoly preferred the government of a desert to that of a happy and contented people; and the constitution in church and state was pronounced secure against its enemies, when the people of Ireland were stripped of every privilege and every right which separates humanity from the brute creation. Mr Matthew O'Connor has summed up the effects

of the ferocious law of Queen Anne, in a strong and comprehensive description, creditable to the sensibility which dictated it, and worthy of the spirit of his ancient and respected family. "The immediate effect of this law," he writes, "was the emigration of vast numbers of the inhabitants, who sought shelter in distant exile, and found a refuge in the armies of the catholic powers of the continent. The sentiment of persecution was completed by this act, and never was system attended with more effectual success; private manners were debauched, public sentiment debased, and every faculty of the mind enervated. The contrast of the sudden and certain acquisition of landed property by the obvious and easy method of discovery, with the slow and uncertain acquirement of wealth by the laborious pursuits of industry, nourished the principle of dishonesty, and a total disregard of shame and infamy. The rewards of conformity cherished the seeds of rebellion in the minds of children against parents, and of distrust in the minds of parents against children. The penalties attached to an open and conscientious discharge of religious duties, fomented dissimulation and hypocrisy. Habits of oppression, and the exercise of lawless power, debased the minds of the upper classes from a love of country, of fame, and glory, to mean servility to the court, and a tame acquiescence in the stern mandates of English supremacy. The loss of rights and property extinguished every spark of patriotism, and infused the spiritless indifference of submissive poverty into the great mass

of the people, who barely existed in their native soil, strangers to its natural blessings, the patient victims of its wrongs, the insensible spectators of its ruin. Here they vegetated on the potatoe root, decayed in the prime of life, destitute of solid nourishment, and sinking to untimely graves; their vigour prematurely exhausted by hard labour, and the spark of life at last extinguished by famine."

It is perhaps as unprofitable to the reader as it is painful to the writer, to read the vile and profligate system of legislation which blackened the reign of Queen Anne in this country; which must excite as much astonishment as sorrow, in the bosom of the philosopher, when he reflects how little the human mind had advanced in the useful and efficient government of mankind; and how strongly the barbarities of Queen Anne's laws, after an interval of seventeen hundred years, resembled the remorseless persecutions of paganism against the mild and charitable religion of Christianity. It is not easy to assign any rational grounds for the devastating laws which were enacted against the catholics of Ireland. The lust of torture, which seems to be the natural offspring of monopoly, is the only incentive which posterity can assign for the barbarities so long practised against our unoffending countrymen.

Dr Curry has collected the reasons which the despots of Ireland sometimes gave for their persecution of the human mind. This able and honest man, whose labours have so powerfully contributed to rescue the millions that are yet unborn, from the

most wretched degradation, has the following admirable observations on the effects of those laws which the men, who enacted them, most piously thought would have extirpated the religion, as well as the property, of the catholic. The readers of this compendium will read with attention the reflections of one of the best Irishmen our country ever gave birth to ; the legislator will acknowledge the force of his deductions ; and the gratitude of Ireland will rejoice, in beholding the treasures of such a book as Dr Curry's circulating at a cheap and convenient rate, in every corner of the empire.

“ Two plausible reasons,” writes Dr Curry, “ have been commonly assigned for the framing and continuing of these laws. First, their tendency to bring the catholics of this kingdom to conformity in religion and loyalty with their protestant fellow-subjects ; and next, their aptitude to weaken and impoverish such of them as prove refractory, in these respects, to such a degree as to render both them and their posterity utterly incapable of giving any future disturbance to this government. But is it not notorious that hypocrisy, and disaffection to the established religion and government, are the natural and constant effects of such forced conversions ? And even supposing that converts thus made, might at length become good and loyal subjects, is evil to be done that good may arise therefrom, in this one instance, when both reason and religion prohibit and condemn it in every other ? On the other hand, does not the enacting such predatory laws against these people, without their being even accused of

any civil crime, and merely to weaken and impoverish them, suggest to their mind something like the policy of an highwayman in putting those he has robbed to death, but if they were suffered to survive their losses, they might chance to discover and prosecute him for the robbery.

“ The last of the common objections to the relaxation of those laws, which I shall consider, (and it is the only remaining objection that deserves to be considered), is, that the spirit of persecution is peculiar and essential to the Roman catholic religion; and therefore that its professors ought, in good policy, to be always kept under, and in an absolute incapacity to exert it. But this objection confutes itself. It supposes that men may be justified in actually wronging and persecuting others, for no other reason but merely to prevent those others from ever having the power (however remote and improbable) to injure and persecute them. The Roman catholics wish not for a power to persecute. They only implore the justice and mercy of the legislature to relieve them from persecution. But how can the spirit of persecution be deemed peculiar to Roman catholics, when it is notorious that those very accusers, of every denomination, persecute both them and one another whenever they have the power and opportunity of doing it? That such a spirit is far from being essential to their religion, however it may have unhappily possessed some of its bigotted members, (and what sect or communion of Christians is free from such members?) is manifest from hence, that all their ablest and most re-

spectable divines, and in particular their last pope, (who surely must be supposed to have known the essentials of his religion), condemn and renounce it as unchristian and inhuman. ‘The great misfortune in this case,’ says the eminently learned and liberal prelate, Ganganelli, ‘is, that some people confound religion with her ministers, and make her responsible for their faults. It never was religion, but false zeal pretending to her, that seized fire and sword to compel heretics to abjure their errors, and Jews to become Christians. And what is more dreadful than to see good men fall victims to a zeal displeasing in the sight of God, and condemned by the church, as equally hurtful to religion and the rights of society? The example of Jesus Christ, who, during his residence on earth, bore patiently with the Sadducees and Samaritans, (the infidels and schismatics of those times) oblige us to support our brethren, of whatever communion they may be ; to live peaceably with them ; and not to torment them on account of any system of belief which they may have adopted. The power of the church is purely spiritual ; our blessed Saviour himself, when he prayed for his executioners, taught us how his cause is to be avenged. Had the ministers of the gospel been always careful to follow that divine model, the enemies of Christianity would not have been able to bring against it the unjust reproach of favouring persecution. The catholic church always disavowed those impetuous men, who, stirred up by an indiscreet zeal, treat those who go astray with asperity ; and its most holy bishops at all times so-

licited the pardon of the apostles, desiring only their conversion. Men, therefore, ought not to impute to the church those excesses, of which history has preserved the memory, and which are repugnant to the maxims of the gospel.' ”

Such are the opinions of Ganganelli on the duties of the catholic priest; and such is the vindication which the liberal and enlightened mind of this great man makes for those pious excesses into which weak minds have been driven by the intoxicating spirit of fanaticism. What sect of Christians may not now be charged with the idle display of cruel zeal which sometimes distinguished the catholic church? What sect of Christians is not able to count an equal number of enormities in the propagation of their respective creeds? Can the protestant say that the records of his sect are unstained with the blood of humanity? Can he not boast of a rivalry in the enthusiasm of his zeal for his opinions with the inquisition, the memory of whose atrocities is so odious to every mind of liberal and enlightened feelings? But as the good Ganganelli writes, the crimes of the inquisition no more proceeded from the catholic religion than the protestant persecutions of Queen Anne proceeded from the religion of the protestant. The avarice of monopoly made its anxiety for the protestant religion a pretext, to cover and conceal the baseness of its views. The catholic inquisition put on the garb of the priest, when it was violating the divine and beneficent principles of Christianity. Toleration, the great leading principle of every wise govern-

ment, has at length deprived the bigot of the opportunity of martyrdom : he now courts the faggot or the scaffold in vain : he struggles to provoke persecution, and languishes and decays under the philosophic indifference with which he is treated.

The persecuting laws of Queen Anne demonstrate the folly of forcing the human conscience. Pride, principle, every passion of our nature, confederated against the impudent dictation of power on subjects, which no human authority should dare to control. The furious spirit of the laws was communicated to all the subordinate and humble instruments of government. The Castle gave the word to the police office ; and the ignorant alderman administered his little government of the parish with all the insolence of the highest authority. Ireland was at this period so insignificant a portion of the empire, and so low in the estimation of its rulers, that the representative of majesty considered it a great act of condescension and favour to pay his visit every second, and sometimes every third year. The regulation of Ireland was entrusted, in the interim, to some hot-headed bigots, or some trading speculators on the misfortunes and sufferings of the Irish people, under the denomination of lords justices. Those governors generally estimated their loyalty to their king by the quantity of torture they inflicted on their fellow-subjects : their principal duty was marshalling the house of lords and commons, and multiplying by corruption the number of Ireland's oppressors.

The genius of legislation had nearly completed

its work of national destruction. The executioner who would best enforce the sanguinary statute, was now sought for, to put the infamous theory into more infamous practice. Sometimes the malignity of the law was counteracted by the humanity of the viceroy. The English parliament, however, in 1709, produced a nobleman, fitted by his mind and his heart to become the instrument of the most abandoned system. The Earl Wharton, whose infamy has been immortalized by Swift, was considered the most likely personage, whom no compunctious visitings of nature would ever prompt to withhold the lash, or suspend the torture. His talents being always tributary to his vices, he was as formidable in his contrivance of ruin, as he was cruel in the execution. "He had," says Swift, "imbibed his father's principles in government; he was a rigid presbyterian; but dropped his religion, and took up no other in its stead; excepting that circumstance, he was a firm presbyterian. He contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere justice, to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself right. He is very useful in parliament, being a ready speaker, and content to employ this gift upon such occasions, where those who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modesty, are ashamed to appear. The Earl of Wharton sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom, and hath raised it by going far in the ruin of another. His administration of Ireland was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him at last for high crimes and

misdemeanours ; yet he has gained by the government of that kingdom, under two years, L.45,000, by the most favourable computation, half in the *regular* way, and half in the *prudential*."

The reader may estimate the character of the house of commons at this disastrous period, by the following panegyric on one of the most profligate men by whom a nation was ever governed : " They gratefully acknowledged her majesty's more particular care of them, in appointing his excellency their chief governor, whose equal and impartial administration of justice gave them just reason to hope, and earnestly wish his long continuance in the government."

This accomplished state plunderer was admirably dexterous in holding out professions which he determined to break. He flattered and deceived the dissenter ; he was only candid to the catholic, whom he was perpetually torturing. Though taken from the bosom of the dissenters, and known to be in his private capacity anxious to promote their views, this able task-master, Wharton, would never hesitate to minister to the plans of their oppressors, and, for the promotion of his personal fortunes, sacrifice his favourite religion and its followers.

Nothing perhaps can excite the indignation of the Irish nation so much as the history of those conflicts which took place at this period, between the advocates of prerogative and the advocates of liberty. It is painful to see a little aristocracy, of a particular sect, engaged in contests on the free principles of the revolution, as established in 1691,

when the people of Ireland stood behind their chairs, the insulted spectators of a dispute in which both parties agreed only in one point, namely, the oppression and the suffering of the great majority of the people. At this period the Irish lords and the Irish commons were appealing against each other to the crown, as their common umpire. The most infamous aristocracy which ever disgraced the annals of a country, were heard exclaiming against the abuses of power, the encroachments of prerogative, and the violation of the rights of man. The principles of Locke were the theme of *their* panegyric, who were exercising every oppression over the great majority of the Irish nation; and the public understanding was mocked and insulted by the idle display of all the forms of a free constitution. The tory lords and the whig commons were daily disputing for pre-eminence; and while each laid claim to superior confidence from the crown, both agreed in the common office of multiplying the mortifications of their catholic fellow-subjects. That a parliament composed of such materials, and acting so perpetually in contempt of public opinion, should be themselves dispersed in turn by a superior power, will be easily conceived by any reflecting mind. The Irish parliament, during the reign of Queen Anne, was humbled so low in the estimation of the sister country, that the parliament of the latter did not hesitate to assume the right of legislating for Ireland, and of casting off an odious faction which at once disgusted by their insolence and their oppression. Indeed the English parlia-

ment, in all the more important considerations which affected the empire, dictated the law to Ireland, as if no Irish parliament existed. They directed the sale of the forfeited estates, and prohibited catholics from being the purchasers. They voided all leases made to catholics. They permitted Ireland to export linen to the plantations, and appointed the town of Ross, in the county of Wexford, the port for exporting wool from Ireland to England. Sir William Wyndham, an able and distinguished champion of the tories, brought a bill into the house of commons in 1712, denominated the schism bill, the object of which was to extinguish the power of the whigs; and the reader will find in the protest entered on the journals of the lords, by the whigs of that house, how ferocious the spirit of persecution against the unhappy catholic must have been, when the principal reason advanced by the defeated whig, was the possibility of being deprived of the power of co-operating effectually with his protestant countryman in keeping down the catholic, who was then an object of commiseration rather than resentment. This protest demonstrates the fanatical barbarity with which this unfortunate country was pursued by the most enlightened among the English nation—by the advocates of the free and enlightened principles of the revolution, and the boasted champions of civil and religious liberty. The whig lords protested against that part of the schism bill which relates to Ireland, in the following benevolent and christian language: “The miseries we apprehend here, (in England), are great-

ly enhanced by extending this bill to Ireland, where the consequences of it may be fatal ; for since the number of catholics in that kingdom far exceeds the protestants of all denominations together ; and that the dissenters are to be treated as enemies, or at least as persons dangerous to the church and state, who have always in all times joined, and still would join, with the members of that church, against the common enemy of their religion ; and since the army there is very much reduced, the protestants, thus unnecessarily divided, seem to us to be exposed to the danger of another massacre, and the protestant religion in danger of being extirpated."

The reader will not wonder that the monopolists who ruled in Ireland, and who were the mere echoes of the whigs and tories of England, should have pursued the Irish catholic with such implacable malignity. The Cromwellians of 1645 were not more zealous in their denunciations against the catholic than the whigs and tories in the reign we are now recording. In Ireland the whigs and tories played their little parts in emulation of their English masters. The Irish lords and commons were in perpetual conflict ; the former in support of tory principles—the latter, of whig. The causes of difference were scarcely ever found out of the narrow circle of monopoly. The people at large were uninterested in the result of a combat which ended in the overthrow of some powerful individual of either party. For instance, the whigs of the commons made furious war against Sir Constantine Phibs, the tory chancellor of Ireland. Backed by

the queen, the chancellor set his enemies at defiance ; and the oppressed portion of the community enjoyed the defeat of the whigs, and their humiliation under the superior power of their tory competitors.

It is impossible to reflect on the events of a reign so calamitous to Ireland, without indulging at the same instant in the consolation that all this shocking and atrocious violation of human right which we have witnessed, is, in the nineteenth century, the object of every man's disgust or indignation ; that the protestant and the presbyterian of the present day, who peruse the sanguinary records which contain the act of their ancestors, are equally anxious to bury them in everlasting oblivion : that the spirit of monopoly, which would grasp at more than it could enjoy, has given way to the mild and Christian principle which sees the greatest advantage in the communication of mutual protection, and the greatest happiness in the promotion of mutual harmony : that the British government, which so long pursued the disastrous and unprofitable policy of dividing Ireland, in order the more effectually to controul it, is disposed to surrender this contemptible principle to the more enlarged and productive principle of equal protection and equal privilege : that such a change should have taken place, and now promises to be the possession of the people who read this compendium, is a cheering subject of congratulation, after all the blood and havoc through which we have waded.

We have endeavoured, in this brief chronicle of

Ireland's story, to embrace all the great and leading facts which calumny and misrepresentation have so often and so successfully distorted ; which have been the subject of so much reproach, and so much exasperation ; which have been the natural offspring of bad government, and the natural resource of a persecuted nation. We have endeavoured to vindicate a brave people, in perpetual conflict for its civil and religious liberties, against the black and infamous charges which the hired libeller has elaborately brought against them. We have endeavoured to demonstrate to the English reader, that when Ireland drew the sword of rebellion, she was but following the feelings of human nature, which prompted her to repel the violator of her rights : that her rebellions against England were the necessary result of her sufferings, and the feeble, though disastrous struggles of a people, who, under a mild and protecting government, would have contributed to its wealth, its power, and its greatness.

The sword of intolerance has at length been sheathed ;—the bigotry of the sectarian has at length been discouraged ; the human mind can now give full rein to its powers with impunity. Uncontrolled by the dictation of a supposed infallibility, every man is suffered to adore his Creator as his conscience directs him ; and the profession of a particular creed of Christianity has *almost* ceased to be a measure of Irish loyalty. The protestant, the presbyterian and the catholic, respect each other's conscientious attachment to the religion of their fathers. The legislator can now discover no cause

for the loyalty of the subject so strong as the possession of civil and religious liberty. He reads the cruelties of intolerance, in order to avoid their repetition ; and draws from the follies of his ancestors the wisest and most beneficial lessons of instruction.

We took up our pen with an ardent wish to avenge the insults offered to the character and honour of our country. If the reader shall be of opinion that we have performed the task with zeal and with firmness, we shall triumph in the contemplation of our labours, and congratulate our countrymen on the benefits which may possibly result from them. We have called the Irish reader to the consideration of those causes which were the fruitful sources of Irish misfortune ; we have endeavoured to point out to the future politician of our country, the errors of those who are in the tomb ; or, as Edmund Burke philosophically observes, we have written under the impression that “ NO PEOPLE WILL LOOK FORWARD TO POSTERITY, WHO DO NOT OFTEN LOOK BACKWARD TO THEIR ANCESTORS.”

THE END.

APPENDIX.

A Catalogue of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the kingdom of Ireland, at the sitting of the Irish parliament, including those created by the late King James II, after his abdication, according to their respective precedencies, in the year 1689, in which those that were formerly attainted, and those that sat, are distinguished.

Note—All that were attainted had outlawries reversed.

SIR Alexander Fitton, Kt. Lord Chancellor.—Sat.

Dr Michael Boyle, Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland.

Dr Francis March, Archbishop of Dublin.

Vacant ——— Archbishop of Cashel.

Dr John Vessey, Archbishop of Tuam.

Richard Earl of Cork, Lord Treasurer.

DUKES.

James Butler, Duke of Ormond.

Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnel.

EARLS.

Prot. Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare.

Cath. O'Bryan, Earl of Thomond.

Cath. Burke, Earl of Clanrickard.

Cath. Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven.

- Prot. Boyle, Earl of Cork.
 Cath. MacDonnel, Earl of Antrim.——Sat.
 Cath. Nugent, Earl of Westmeath.—Sat, (under age, the right Earl being a Clergyman.)
 Prot. Ridgway, Earl of Londonderry.
 Prot. Fielding, Earl of Desmond.
 Prot. Brabazon, Earl of Meath.
 Prot. Dillon, Earl of Roscommon.
 Prot. Barry, Earl of Barrymore.——Sat.
 Prot. Vaughan, Earl of Carbury.
 Cath. Plunket, Earl of Fingal. Attainted (a Minor.)
 Prot. Chichester, Earl of Donegal.
 Prot. Lambert, Earl of Cavan.
 Prot. O'Brian, Earl of Inchiquin.
 Cath. MacCartney, Earl Clancarty.—Sat, (under age, attainted, but restored by a clause in the act.)
 Prot. Boyle, Earl of Orrery.
 Prot. Coote, Earl of Montrath,
 Prot. Moore, Earl of Drogheda.
 Prot. Talbot, Earl of Waterford and Wexford.
 Prot. Montgomery, Earl of Mount-Alexander.
 Cath. Palmer, Earl of Castlemain.
 Cath. Taaffe, Earl of Carlingford.
 Cath. Power, Earl of Tyrone,——Sat, a Convert.
 Prot. Jones, Earl of Ranelagh.
 Prot. Angier, Earl of Longford. Sat.
 Prot. Forbes, Earl of Granard. Sat.
 Cath. Dungan, Earl of Limerick. Sat.
 Prot. Coote, Earl of Bellamont.

VISCOUNTS.

- Cath. Preston, Viscount Gormanstown. Attainted.
 Cath. Roch, Viscount Fermoy, Attainted.
 Cath. Butler, Viscount Mountgarret. Sat, Attainted.
 Prot. Villiers, Viscount Grandison.
 Prot. Annesly, Viscount Valentia.
 Cath. Dillon, Viscount Castlelogallen. Sat.
 Cath. Netterville, Viscount Dowth. Attainted.
 Prot. Loftus, Viscount Ely.

- Prot. Benmont, Viscount Swords.
Cath. Magennis, Viscount Iveagh. Sat, Attainted.
Prot. Needham, Viscount Kilmurry.
Cath. Sarsfield, Kilmallock.
Cath. Burke, Viscount Mayo.
Prot. Sanderson, Viscount Castletown.
Prot. Chaworth, Viscount Armagh.
Prot. Scudamore, Viscount Sligo.
Prot. Lumley, Viscount Waterford.
Prot. Smith, Viscount Strangford.
Prot. Wenman, Viscount Tuam.
Prot. Molyneux, Viscount Maryborough.
Cath. Fairfax, Viscount Emmely.
Cath. Butler, Viscount Ikerin. Attainted, (a Minor.)
Prot. Fitzwilliam, Viscount Merryon.
Cath. O'Dempsey, Viscount Glanmaleira. Sat.
Prot. Cokain, Viscount Cullen.
Prot. Tracy, Viscount Rathcool.
Cath. Smith, Viscount Carrington of Barrefore.
Prot. Bulkley, Viscount Cashell.
Cath. Butler, Viscount Galmoy. Attainted.
Cath. Barnwall, Viscount Kingsland.
Prot. Boyle, Viscount Shannon.
Prot. Skiffington, Viscount Massareene.
Prot. Chalmondy, Viscount Kells.
Prot. Franshaw, Viscount Dromore.
Cath. O'Brian, Viscount Clare.
Prot. Trevor, Viscount Dungannon.
Prot. Boyle, Viscount Dungarvan.
Prot. Berkley, Viscount Fitzharding of Beerhaven.
Prot. Caulfield, Viscount Charlemont.
Prot. Wingfield, Viscount Powerscourt.
Prot. Boyle, Viscount Blessington.
Prot. Lane, Viscount Lanesborough.
Prot. Dawny, Viscount Down.
Prot. Parsons, Viscount Ross. Sat.
Prot. Steward, Viscount Mountjoy.
Prot. Loftus, Viscount Lisburn.
Cath. Burke, Viscount Galway. Sat.

Cath. Macarty, Viscount Mountcashel. Sat, new created.

Cath. Chivers, Viscount Mount-Leinster, new created.

Cath. Brown, Viscount Kenmare. Sat, new created,

BISHOPS.

Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath. Sat.

William Moreton, Bishop of Kildare.

Hugh Gore, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

Vacant——Bishop of Clonfert.

Vacant——Bishop of Clogher.

Thomas Otway, Bishop of Ossory and Kilkenny. Sat.

Ezekiel Hopkins, Bishop of Derry.

Thomas Hacket, Bishop of Down and Connor.

John Rowan, Bishop of Killaloe.

Edward Whittenhal, Bishop of Cork and Ross. Sat.

Simon Digby, Bishop of Limerick and Ardfert. Sat.

Richard Tennison, Bishop of Killala and Archonry.

William Smith, Bishop of Raphoe.

William Sheridan, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.

Narcissus Marsh, Bishop of Fernes and Laughlin.

Edward Jones, Bishop of Cloyne.

Capel Wiseman, Bishop of Dromore.

Vacant——Bishop of Elphin.

BARONS.

Cath. Bermingham, Baron of Athenry. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Courcy, Baron of Kinsale. Sat, (a convert.)

Prot. Fitzmorris, Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw

Cath. Fleming, Baron of Slane. Sat, attainted.

Prot. St Lawrence, Baron of Howth. Sat.

Cath. Barnwall, Baron of Trimblestown. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Plunket, Baron of Dunsany. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Butler, Baron of Dunboyne. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory. Sat.

Cath. Plunket, Baron of Lowth. Attainted.

Cath. Burke, Baron of Castleconnel. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Butler, Baron of Cahir. Sat, attainted.

Cath. Burke, Baron of Brittas. Sat, attainted.

- Prot. Foliot, Baron of Ballyshannon.
 Prot. Maynard, Baron of Wicklow.
 Prot. Gorge, Baron of Dundalk.
 Prot. Digby, Baron of Gaisehil.
 Prot. Fitzwilliam, Baron of Lifford.
 Prot. Blaney, Baron of Monaghan.
 ——— Malowne, Baron of Glenmalum and Courchy.
 Prot. Herbert, Baron of Castle Island.
 Cath. Calvert, Baron of Baltimore.
 Prot. Brereton, Baron of Laughlin.
 Prot. Hare, Baron of Colerain.
 Prot. Sherard, Baron of Leitrim.
 Cath. MacGuire, Baron of Enniskillen. (Sat, attainted in
 Ireland; but the Lord his Uncle attainted in Eng-
 land.)
 Cath. Hamilton, Baron of Strabane. Sat.
 Prot. Hawley, Baron of Dunamore.
 Prot. Allington, Baron of Killard.
 Prot. King, Baron of Kingston.
 Prot. Barry, Baron of Santry.
 Prot. Annesly, Baron of Altham.
 Cath. Bellew, Baron of Duleek. Sat.
 Prot. Petty, Baron of Shelburn.
 Prot. Fitton, Baron of Gausworth. Sat, new created.
 Cath. Burke, Baron of Bophin. Sat, new created.
 Cath. Nugent, Baron of Riverston. Sat, new created.

*The Names of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, re-
 turned to the Parliament, beginning the 7th of May,
 1689.*

County Armagh—Arthur Brownloe and Walter Hovendon,
 Esqrs.

Burgh, Armagh—Francis Stophard and Constantine O'Neil,
 Esqrs. 16th May, 1689.

Bur.—Charlemont.

- Com. Antrim—Carmick O'Neil and Randle MacDonnel, Esqrs.
 Bur.—Carrickfergus.
 Bur. Belfast—Mark Talbot, Esq.
 Bur. Lisburn—Daniel O'Neil, Esq. 20th May, 1689.
 Bur. Antrim.
 Com. Catherlogh—Dudley Bagnal and Henry Lutterel, Esqrs.
 Bur. Cloghnerkilty—Lieut.-Col. Owen MacCarty and Daniel Fyn MacCarty, Esq.
 Bur. Catherlogh—Mark Baggot and John Warren, Esqrs.
 Bur. Old Laughlin—Darby Long and Daniel Doran, Esqrs.
 Com. Cork—Justin MacCarty, Esq. and Sir Richard Nagle, Knights.
 Town of Youghall—Thomas Uniack and Edward Gough, Aldermen.
 Town of Kingsale—Andrew Murrough and Myles De Courcy, Esqrs.
 Bur. Baltimore—Daniel O'Donavan and Jeremiah O'Donavan, Esqrs.
 Bur. Bandonbridge—Charles MacCarty of Bulloa, and Daniel MacCarty of Reagh, Esqrs.
 Bur. Middletown—Dermot Long and John Logan, Esqrs.
 Bur. Moyallow—John Barret of Castlemore, and David Nagle of Carrigoone, Esqrs.
 Manor and Borough of Rathcormuck—James Barry and Edward Powell, Esqrs.
 Manor of Donerail—Donell O'Donavan, and John Baggot, jun. of Baggotstown, Esqrs.
 Bur. Charleville—John Baggot of Baggotstown, sen. and John Power of Kilbelone, Esqrs.
 City of Cork—Sir James Cotter, Knight, and John Galway, Esq.
 Com. Cavan—Phil. Reyley of Aghnicrery, and John Reyley of Garyrobock, Esqrs.
 Bur. Cavan—Phil. Oge O'Reyley, and Hugh Reyley of Larha, Esqrs.
 Bur. Belturbet—Sir Edward Tyrrel, Baronet, and ——— Tuit of Newcastle, Esqrs.
 Com. Clare—David O'Brien, and John MacNamara of Cratlagh, Esqrs.

- Bur. Ennis—Florence MacCarty of Dromad, and Theob. Butler of Szathnogalloon, Esqrs. 10th May 1689.
- Com. Down—Murtagh Magennis of Greencastle, and Ever Magennis of Castlewellan, Esqrs.
- Bur. Hillsborough.
- Bur. Newry—Rowland White and Rowland Savage, Esqrs.
- Bur. Bangor.
- Bur. Keleleagh—Bernard Magennis of Balligorionbeg, Esq. and Tool O'Neil of Dromankelly, gent.
- Bur. Down.
- New-Town.
- Com. Dublin—Simon Lutterel of Lutterelstown and Patrick Sarsfield, jun. of Ducan, Esqrs.
- Bur. Swords—Francis Barnwell of Woodpark, County Meath, and Robert Russel of Dryham, Esqrs.
- Bur. Newcastle—Thomas Arthur of Colganstown, and John Talbot of Belgard, Esqrs.
- City of Dublin—Sir Michael Creagh, knight, and Terence Dermot, sen. alderman.
- College of Dublin—Sir John Mead, knight, and Jos. Coghlan, Esqrs.
- Town of Drogheda—Henry Dowdal, Esq. recorder, and Alderman Christoph. Peppard FitzGeorge.
- Com. Donegal.
- Lifford.
- Ballyshannon.
- Killibegs.
- Donegal.
- St John's-town—Sir William Ellis, knight, and Lieut.-Col. James Nugent.
- Com. Galway—Sir Ulick Burke and Sir Walter Blake, baronets.
- Bur. Athunree—James Talbot of Mount Talbot, and Charles Daly of Dunsandale, Esqrs.
- Bur. Tuam—James Lally of Tullendaly, and William Burke of Carrowford, Esqrs.
- Town of Galway—Oliver Martin and John Kirwan, Esqrs.
- Com. Kilkenny—John Grace of Courts-town, and Robert Walsh of Clooneshy, Esqrs.
- Bur. Callaim—Walter Butler and Thady Meagher, Esqrs.

Bur. Thomas-Town—Robert Grace, sen. and Robert Grace, jun.

Bur. Gowran—Richard Butler, Esq. and Walter Keily, Doctor of Physic.

Col. Robert Fielding, by a new election.

Bur. Inishog—Edward Fitzgerald and James Bolger, Esqrs.

Bur. Knocktopher—Harvey Morris and Henry Meagh, Esqrs.

City of Kilkenny—John Rooth, Esq. Mayor, and James Bryan, Alderman, 4th May, 1689.

Bur. Kells—Patrick Everard and John Delamere, Esqrs.

Bur. St Canice.

Com. Kildare—John Wogan and George Aytmer, Esqrs.

Bur. Nass—Walter, Lord Dungan, and Charles White, Esq.

Bur. Athy—William Fitzgerald and William Archbold, Esqrs.

Bur. Harristown—James Nigel and Edmund Fitzgerald, Esqrs.

Bur. Kildare—Francis Leigh and Robert Porter, Esqrs.

King's County—Heward Oxborough and Owen Kerrel, Esqrs.

Bur. Philipstown—John Connor and Heward Oxborough, Esqrs.

Bur. Banagher—Terence Coghlan and Terence Coghlan, Esqrs.

Bur. Birr.

Com. Kerry—Nicholas Brown, Esq.' and Sir Thomas Crosby, knight.

Bur. Tralee—Morrice Hussey of Kerries and John Brown of Ardagh, Esqrs.

Bur. Dingle Icouch—Edward Rice FitzJames of Ballinleggin, Com. Lym. and John Hussey, Esqrs.

Bur. Ardfert—Col. Roger MacElligott and Cornelius MacGillicuddy, Esq.

Com. Longford—Roger Farrell and Robert Farrell, Esqrs.

Bur. Lanesborough—Oliver Fitzgerald and Roger Farrell, Esqrs. Town of Longford.

Com. Lowth—Thomas Bellew and William Talbot, Esqrs.

Bur. Atherdee—Hugh Gernon and John Babe, Esqrs.

Bur. Dundalk—Robert Dermot and John Dowdall, Esqrs.

Bur. Carlingford—Christopher Peppard FitzIgnatius and Bryan Dermot, Esqrs.

Dunlear.

Com. Limerick—Sir John Fitzgerald, baronet, and Gerald Fitzgerald, Esq. commonly called Knight of the Glynn.

Bur. Kilmallock—Sir William Harley, baronet, and John Lacy, Esq.

Bur. Askeaton—John Burke of Carrickinohil and Edward Rice, Esqrs.

City of Limerick—Nicholas Arthur and Thomas Harrold, Aldermen.

Com. Leitrim—Edmund Reynolds and Irrel Farrell, Esqrs.

Bur. James-town—Alexander MacDonnell, Esq. and William Shanley, 15th May 1689.

Carrickdrumrusk.

Com. Mayo—Garret Moore and Walter Burke, Esqrs.

Castlebar—John Bermingham, Portreeve, and Thomas Burke, Esqrs.

Com. Meath—Sir William Talbot and Sir Patrick Barnwell.

Bur. Ratoath—John Hussey and James Fitzgerald, Esqrs.

Bur. Trim—Capt. Nicholas Cusack and Walter Nangle, Esqrs.

Bur. Navan—Christopher Cusack of Corballis, and Christopher Cusack of Ratholdran, Esqrs.

Bur. Athboy—John Trinder and Robert Longfield, Esqrs.
Duleek.

Kells.

Com. Monaghan—Bryan MacMahon and Hugh MacMahon, Esqrs. 9th July 1689.

Town of Monaghan.

Com. Fermanagh.

Enniskillen.

Queen's county—Sir Patrick Trant, knight, and Edward Morris, Esq.

Bur. Maryborough—Peirce Bryan and Thady Fitzpatrick, Esq.

Bur. Ballinakill, Sir George Bourne, baronet, and Oliver Grace, Esq.

Portarlington—Sir Henry Bond, baronet, and Sir — Hacket, knight.

Com. Roscommon—Charles Kelly and John Burke, Esqrs.

Bur. Roscommon—John Dillon and John Kelly, Esqrs.

Bur. Boyle—Captain John King and Terence MacDermot, aldermen, 6th May 1689.

Tulske.

Com. Sligo—Henry Crofton and Oliver O'Gara, Esqrs.

Bur. Sligo—Terence MacDonagh and James French, Esqrs.

Com. Tipperary—Nicholas Purcel of Loughmore, and James Butler of Grangebeg, Esqrs.

City of Cashel—Dennis Kearney and James Hacket, aldermen.

Bur. Clonmell—Nicholas White and John Bray, aldermen.

Bur. Fethard—Sir John Everard, baronet, and James Tobin of Fethard, Esq.

Bur. Thurles.

Bur. Tipperary.

Com. Tyrone—Col. Gordon O'Neil, and Lewis Doe of Dungannon, Esq.

Bur. Dungannon—Arthur O'Neil of Ballygawly, and Patrick Donnelly of Dungannon, Esqrs.

Bur. Strabane—Christopher Nugent of Dublin, Esq. and Daniel O'Donnelly of the same, gent. 8th May 1689.

Clogher.

Augher.

Com. Waterford—John Power and Matthew Hore, Esqrs.

Bur. Dungarvan—John Hore and Martin Hore, Esqrs. 7th of May 1689.

City of Waterford—John Porter and Nicholas Fitzgerald, Esqrs.

Bur. Lismore.

Tallow.

Com. Wexford—Walter Butler of Munfine, and Patrick Colclough of Mouluiry.

Bur. Wexford—William Talbot, Esq. and Francis Rooth, merchant.

Bur. New Ross—Luke Dormer and Richard Butler, Esqrs.

Bur. Bannow—Francis Plowden, Esq. Commissioner of the Revenue, and Dr Alexius Stafford.

Bur. Newborough—Abraham Strange of Tobberduff, Esq. and Richard Dally of Kilcorky, gent.

Bur. Enniscorthy—James Devereux of Carrigmenan, and Dudley Colclough of Moughery, Esqrs. Arthur Waddington, Esq. by a new Election.

Bur. Taghmon—George Hore of Polhore, and Walter Hore of Herperstown, Esqrs.

Bur. Cloghmyne—Edward Sherlock of Dublin, Esq. and Nicholas White of New Ross, merchant.

Bur. Arklow.

Fytherd—Colonel James Porter, and Capt. Nicholas Stafford.

Com. Wicklow—Richard Butler, and William Talbot, Esqrs.

Bur. Caryesfort—Hugh Bryne, Esq. and Pierce Archbold, Esq.

upon whose default of appearance ——— Barth. Polewheelee.

Bur. Wicklow—Francis Toole and Thomas Byrne, Esqrs.

Bur. Blessington—James Eustace, Esq. and Maurice Eustace, gent.

Baltinglass.

Com. Westmeath—Hon. Col. William Nugent, and Hon. Col. Henry Dillon.

Bur. and Manor of Mullingar—Garret Dillon, Esq. Prime Sergeant, and Edmund Nugent of Garlanstown, Esq.

Bur. Athlone—Edmund Malone of Ballynehown, Esq. and Edmund Malone, Esq. Counsellor at Law.

Bur. Kilbeggan—Bryan Geoghegan of Donore, and Charles Geoghegan of Syenan, Esqrs.

Bur. Fore—John Nugent of Donore, and Christopher Nugent of Dardistown, Esqrs.

Com. Londonderry.

City of Londonderry.

Bur. Coleraine.

Bur. Lamavudy.

